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THE MANKIND QUARTERLY

— *mala opinio bene parta delectet* —

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Some Neglected Aspects of the 'Minorities' Problem*

By GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

I

One of the most popular subjects of current discussion is the so-called "minorities" problem. *Public* discussion is uniformly of a pious, rhetorical, legalistic-moralistic character. Any other approach, it is felt, constitutes "prejudice," and this is regarded as a very damaging characterization. What is meant, I suppose, is that prejudices which conflict with the publicly accepted ones are deplorable, for nothing is more respectable than the "right" prejudices. To share the *respectable* prejudices which constitute, in large part, the culture of every community is always praiseworthy.

A considerable agitation by highly articulate minorities, a large segment of the press and a multitude of "civic" organizations has resulted in a kind of "party line" on the subject of relationships between ethnic, religious, racial and other groups. This "line" is so well established that any deviation therefrom in *public* discussion is much censored and censured. Few can afford to write a realistic discussion on the subject, and almost no agencies of mass communication can afford to carry any other than the accepted "line."

Why is this kind of nonsense necessary? Why cannot we have a frank and realistic discussion of the minority problem just as one discusses questions of wealth, poverty, disease, divorce and delinquency? These are problems that also involve deep human tragedies, personal and social. They are problems that also evoke sympathy, indignation, and a desire on the part of nearly all decent people to remedy injustice, unhappiness and suffering. Why should not the "minority" problem be accorded *in public* a type of discussion it has long received in private?

There are doubtless many reasons for this state of affairs. I should like to call special attention to only one of them because, although it reveals a laudable human quality, it is inimical to objective analysis. I refer to the sympathy of social scientists,

* Presidential Address to the Sociological Research Association, Atlantic City, New Jersey, 2nd September 1952. Reprinted, with revisions, from *Modern Age*, Summer 1958, pp. 285-297.

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as well as of most other people, for certain currently disadvantaged minorities. One shrinks from too rigorous or objective examination of the predicament of people whose misfortunes one recognizes and deplores. As one of my friends (the editor of a leading journal of opinion) put it on reading the analysis which follows below: "*Regardless of the logic and the facts, we must lean over backwards* in the special cases before us because a more realistic view would merely be seized upon by the prejudiced as vindication of their hostility. Any aid or comfort to this group is in the direction of Hitlerism, convent-burning, etc. That danger transcends all other considerations." This attitude is certainly understandable, and one cannot help but admire it as a finely motivated position. Yet I believe that in the long run it only injures the cause it seeks to advance. In objective *scientific analysis* there can be *no* "leaning over" *backwards or forwards* of the type contemplated. Any leaning toward or away from conclusions *scientifically warranted* in order to conform to desired ulterior ends, however laudable under existing mores, is recognized by all scientists as a negation of science.

It is the general thesis of the present paper that the confusion, conflict and frustration in our management of minority problems derives largely from a refusal to face and discuss certain facts and realities on which intelligent progress toward a workable solution depends. I do not contend that the aspects here to be discussed are *all* the aspects of the problem—on the contrary, I merely believe that they are important *neglected* aspects.

II

In every society men react selectively to their fellow men, in the sense of seeking the association of some and avoiding the association of others. Selective association is necessarily based on *some* observable differences between those whose association we seek and those whose association we avoid. The differences which are the basis for selective association are of indefinitely large variety, of all degrees of visibility and subtlety, and vastly different in social consequences. Sex, age, marital condition, religion, politics, socio-economic status, color, size, shape, health, morals, birth, breeding, and B.O.—the list of differences is endless and varied, but all the items have this in common: they are observable, and they are *significant* differences to those who react selectively to people with the characteristics in question. It is, therefore, wholly absurd to try to ignore, deny or talk out of existence these differences just because we do not approve of some of their social results.

Yet it is not hard to find anthropologists who, suffering from

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the semantic delusion that if you get rid of a word you get rid of what the word stands for, have been trying to abolish *the word* "race." Franz Boas, a distinguished anthropologist in many ways, was a leader in this campaign. Some of his students were badly infected with his mania. The main proposition—namely, that the word "race" has no referent—breaks down rather badly in the face of simple observation. The argument therefore tends to shift to the contention that while the alleged characteristics and differences that constitute the referent of the word "race" do exist, they are *not significant*. It is also contended that unfavorable differential behavior toward possessors of certain racial traits are of rather recent (and illegitimate) origin. Finally, it is held that the differential behavior toward groups characterized by certain differences can and should be wiped out by simple legislation. Thus, two learned anthropologists at Columbia University instruct us as follows: "All races of men can either plow or fight, and all the racial differences among them are in non-essentials such as texture of head hair, amount of body hair, shape of the nose or head, or color of the eyes and the skin."[1] Doubtless the characteristics mentioned have no essential relationship to the business of either plowing or fighting. Nevertheless, as characteristics of groups, these traits individually or in configuration are essential in accounting for selective association, prejudice, or by whatever word the resulting discriminative behavior may be called. Having declared that the differences are "non-essential," these authors also have a quick and easy remedy for certain troubles that have arisen throughout history because of such differences: "The Russian nation has for a generation shown what can be done to outlaw race prejudice in a country with many kinds of people.* They did not wait for people's minds to change. They made racial discrimination and persecution illegal."[2] Today it would be both inadvisable and unnecessary to draw such an illustration from Russia—we, too, have made "discrimination and persecution illegal." Yet, strangely, no one seems quite happy with this simple solution. We hear of continuing anti-Semitism in Russia, and, after eight years of school integration efforts under a Supreme Court ruling of 1954, four-tenths of one per cent of

[1] R. Benedict and G. Weltfish, *The Races of Man*, p. 7.

* There are certainly many kinds of people in Russia but there are not many races. There are five nationalities in the British Isles but their racial differences are not significant as compared with those instantly recognised traits which differentiate the major human stocks. No one would think it a reasonable argument to suggest that the fact that the British peoples do not think in racialist terms about each other proves that major racial differences are inessentials. The same thing is mainly true with regard to Russian nationalities. It is deplorable that anthropologists should use such a basically dishonest argument.—EDITOR.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

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the South's Negro public school pupils are in classes with whites (not including colleges).[3]

Another widely publicized notion is the doctrine that while ethnocentrism and discrimination are perhaps both a universal and an age-old phenomenon, their occurrence with reference to racial groups is a rather recent and especially obnoxious development. Benedict and Weltfish claim that the notion of race and racial prejudice is hardly a hundred years old. A recent UNESCO bulletin puts it at three hundred years.[4] Lord Bryce is quoted as unable to find much evidence of it before the French Revolution. He solemnly tells us that before that time people did not think of themselves in terms of ethnology; that they made war for every other sort of reason but never "for the sake of imposing their own type of civilization." Yet I have always read that the word Arab and the word Navajo mean "the people," which seems to me to indicate that these groups regarded non-Arabs and non-Navajos, respectively, as non-people. Is this thinking of themselves in terms of ethnology or is it not? Were there wars and crusades before the French Revolution for the explicit purpose of "imposing one type of civilization" upon another or were there not? In short, the word *race* refers to a classification which may be as meaningful and objective as many other categories found useful in science. Any time biologists and social scientists want to drop the word and adopt another to designate a certain observable complex of characteristics, "inherent" or acquired, I have no objection. Likewise, ethnocentrism and discrimination are words denoting social behavior not only usually practiced but enforced according to stipulated patterns in every society as a condition of group survival. It is entirely ludicrous to agitate against "race," "discrimination" and "ethnocentrism" in general when in fact all we are opposed to is *particular patterns* of this behavior, especially when they affect ourselves adversely.

III

We have seen that detectable differences among human groups do exist, and that these differences are regarded as significant by the people who make them the basis for discriminatory behavior. In much current discussion of "minorities" these facts are hopelessly mixed up with the entirely separate question of whether among all these groups all conceivable abilities will be found similarly distributed. This is a question of fact to be determined in each case as adequate tests become available. Until such tests become conclusive we cannot assume the existence of differences

[3] *N.S. News and World Reports*, 10th December 1962, p. 78.
[4] M. Leiris, *Race and Culture*, Columbia University Press.

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in certain abilities, *nor we can assume that such differences do not exist.* All that can be said is that *we do not know.*

It is true that wholly unwarranted assumptions have been made about inherent differences and ability among racial and ethnic groups, and that the demonstrable differences can be shown quite conclusively to be merely the results of cultural differentials. The fact that absurd contentions regarding the inferiority of some races have been made does not seem to warrant an equally absurd assumption that *there cannot be* statistically significant differences between racial, ethnic, religious and any other classifications of the human species, in any or all abilities whatsoever. When valid tests of a great variety of abilities become available we shall be able to answer these questions. In the meantime there appears to be no warrant for denying the possibility of such differences.

Not that more conclusive tests of ability will make much difference in solving discrimination based on *prejudice,* because it is the essence of prejudice that it should be based on less than scientifically adequate objective grounds. It is quite unlikely, furthermore, that tests will ever be invented which will measure so-called inherent abilities *entirely* uninfluenced by cultural factors. In the end we shall have to be content with testing different groups for the abilities which they do possess at the time tested, however these abilities are acquired and however they are influenced by cultural opportunities.

It is probably rather to be taken for granted that the scores achieved by all groups would be different if their cultural opportunity had been different. The fact remains that people will be treated according to the abilities which they *have* at a given time, place and circumstance, not according to what abilities they *might have had* under different circumstances. Class structure, discrimination and prejudice are based on detectable, observable differences of some kind *as they exist in a given social context,* regardless of the fact that this context, under different circumstances, might have been different. It does not follow that *all* differences are discriminated against. Only deviations in a *disapproved direction* become the basis of discrimination. And what determines disapproval? Broadly speaking, people disapprove (rightly or wrongly, on the basis of experience or superstition) of that which they *believe* threatens some value of their own.

I do not believe for a moment that the present status structure is the only possible one, that it is the "best," the "most just," or necessary. I do believe that, in all but possibly the simplest societies, class structures with variable status, and "discrimination" on the basis of such status, have always existed, now exist, and will continue to exist. Many people are not prepared to admit this because it flies in the face of certain

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notions of democracy, human brotherhood and certain other legalistic-moralistic premises to which most of us have prior emotional commitments. The difference between these preconceptions and the requirements of strictly objective analysis is not apparent to many people. Yet it is such analysis which the problem most needs in order that we may determine what, if anything, can be done about it.

IV

Closely related to the error of trying to talk out of existence demonstrable differences between racial and ethnic groups is the failure to recognize and emphasize the universality of the phenomenon of discrimination by groups against each other on the basis of all kinds of differences, physical and social. Many people seem to think that if only discrimination against Jews, Catholics, Negroes, Orientals, and perhaps a few other groups, could be abolished in this country, "discrimination" as such would disappear and the so-called minority problems would cease to exist. Yet data to the contrary are overwhelming and may be observed about us on every hand.

Collins[5] has shown that in a New England factory the Irish discriminate against the Yankees, the Yankees against the Poles, and so on. Alexander[6] found that college students admitted antipathies and prejudices against people regardless of ethnic group on the basis of some five hundred characteristics, including such features as large nostrils, black watery eyes, and oily hair. They also admitted prejudice against bowlegged persons, persons whose hands have stubby fingers, people who sniff vigorously when talking. . . . Other studies have shown pioneers discriminating against newcomers, the innumerable discriminations against women, and, of course, the discriminations of in-groups against all out-groups whatsoever, which is one of the most basic generalized facts that sociologists have come up with.

Yet discussions of minority problems are carried on with a fine disregard of everything we know about the subject as a natural phenomenon in favor of the most elaborate legalistic-

[5] O. Collins, "Ethnic Behavior in Industry," *American Journal of Sociology*, January 1946.

[6] C. Alexander, "Antipathy and Social Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, January 1946. One critic of my conclusions from this study apparently feels he has somehow refuted it by pointing out that the antipathies are culturally conditioned and not "innate." Of course neither the original author nor the present writer has said one word implying that we believe these or other antipathies to be innate. The reaction of the critic is interesting as an indication of his preoccupation with the reform aspects of the situation. He is eager to point out, although it has no relevance in the present argument, that possibly people with prejudice against sniffers, etc., can be reformed!

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moralistic philosophizing and psychoanalysis. The popularity of the psychoanalytic approach is not surprising in view of the fact that it usually absolves all minorities from any responsibility whatsoever for any prejudice that may exist against them for any reason whatsoever. All people who treat members of a minority in a way that the latter do not like are simply deranged, that's all, and it becomes the heavy duty of all minorities and their friends who have seen the light to proceed with the only remedy, namely, psychoanalysis of the "prejudiced." Innumerable books, special courses, institutes, workshops and lectures give advice as to how to abolish "prejudice," "discrimination," and selective association—all of them entirely normal and necessary social processes in the maintenance of the mores and the social order generally.[7]

In most cases, of course, these efforts do not deal with the general problem. Their discussion usually boils down to how two or three or half a dozen specific minorities can maintain and enjoy their ethnocentric identity and *at the same time* suffer no differential behavior of a negative or out-group sort from the rest of the community. In other words, a substantial part of the agitation on behalf of minorities is directed at the old problem of how to have one's cake and eat it too.

Here it is necessary to distinguish sharply between two types of agitation on behalf of minorities. One of these types is perhaps best represented by certain Jewish and Negro groups. They recognize the basic nature of the problem essentially as set forth in this paper. They are content to insist upon equal rights under the law, but reserve for themselves the privilege of selective association on religious, cultural, racial, or any other grounds that please them, including the privilege of discriminating against outsiders on these bases and accepting the penalty of being similarly discriminated against by other groups. These groups work quietly and effectively for the achievement of that changed status in the estimation of the community which in the long run is the only solution of the so-called minorities problem, to the extent that it is subject to solution. Such groups fall wholly outside the criticisms of the present paper.

On the other hand, there are those minority groups who appear to have set for themselves the impossible and psychopathic task of maintaining an exclusive group identity (through

[7] Note that I am *not* saying that current prejudices, discrimination, etc., are "necessary or desirable social processes." All I have said is that the mores—approved conduct—are defined and maintained by exactly these behaviors that are called "prejudice" and "discrimination," at least by those against whom these behaviors are directed. It is gross carelessness in speech and writing to declaim against "prejudice" and "discrimination" when all that is meant is *certain* prejudices and discriminations, namely, those deplored by some individual or group.

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negative discrimination against outsiders) and at the same time abolishing differential (discriminatory) behavior toward themselves on the basis of precisely the exclusive identity sought. I call it psychopathic because it seeks to advance mutually exclusive values. Most minority movements have at least a lunatic fringe interested in those impossible goals.

Exactly what goals have minority pressure groups set for themselves? Do they actually contemplate a state of affairs under which, for example, they will suffer *no* differential behavior of a type displeasing to themselves? If so, they have set a goal which is, in fact, enjoyed by no other group, majority or minority. It has been shown that within the majority group there exist innumerable cliques, fraternal organizations, socio-economic strata and other groupings which discriminate against each other quite as severely as they discriminate against the minority groups in question.[8] Such discriminations are accepted for the most part, are taken as a matter of course, and are regarded as a universal phenomenon of normal social organization.

In cases where a group finds itself discriminated against by being denied the equal protection, immunity and privileges guaranteed by law to all citizens, they have, of course, an obviously legitimate ground for protest which no one questions. This has been, and is, notoriously true in the case of the Negro in the United States, and if minority agitation were directed solely at discriminations which violate the law there could be no more question about it than there is about other cases of failure of law enforcement. The *wisdom* of a particular law or a particular interpretation of the law may still be questioned, and agitation for its modification is always in order. The same is true of the mores.

It is unfortunate that entirely proper agitation on this subject has been allowed to assume the form of a distinctively minority concern, because differential and discriminatory enforcement of the law is a very general phenomenon and not distinctively a minority problem at all. That is, Negroes are not the only group subjected to gangsterism, lynching, and other forms of violation of the law. The bombing of a respectable and public-spirited Negro in the South is in no way fundamentally different in principle from the beating administered to a white citizen of Illinois for taking his duties of citizenship seriously and opposing gangsters.

It is true that the incidence of some types of deprivation of equal protection and privileges under the law is *much greater* against certain groups. But it is a mistake to allow agitation

[8] G. Lundberg and L. Dickson, "Selective Association among Ethnic Groups in a High School Population," *American Sociological Review*, February 1952.

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against these discriminations to take the form of a particular minority problem, because it implies that we are chiefly interested in redressing these grievances only for the minority in question, which in turn carries the implication of *special protection* for that minority. This approach becomes, of course, increasingly objectionable in proportion as it can be shown that the discrimination complained of is the common lot also of many other groups without organized means of protest. I do not question here the propriety of a particular minority protesting and agitating for the redress of such grievances. I merely point out that such agitation should be undertaken in the name of *all* persons and classes who suffer the deprivation.

The question of special privilege reduces to this: if hostility and criticism by other groups would be the inevitable consequence of a certain type of behavior *no matter who engages in it,* then any minority (or majority) which insists on engaging in the behavior and at the same time expects immunity from criticism is flagrantly engaged in seeking special immunities and privileges for itself. Among the aspects of the minority problem neglected in current discussion is surely the failure to point out that *some* of the hostility complained of by *some* minorities is not based on prejudice at all, but on grounds warranted by community consensus.

What are some of these behaviors which are likely to encounter hostility on the part of contemporary American communities no matter what group engages in them? Doubtless they are very numerous. As a partial list I submit the following:

1. Race, color, nationality, religion or *any observable characteristic whatsoever* on the part of some groups become the basis of hostility and discrimination if their aspirations to equality are regarded by the dominant group as a threat to their own identity and their own relative status.

2. Conspicuous (*i.e.*, more than usual) ethnocentrism on the part of any group in a community is likely to incur a certain hostility on the part of other groups regardless of particular racial, religious or other characteristics.

3. The belief that some groups wield political influence out of all proportion to their numbers, especially when the influence is exercised in ways regarded by the rest of the community as contrary to the public interest, is likely to incur hostility toward the group which for one reason or another happens to be in a position to exert such disproportionate influence.

4. Conspicuous allegiance to any foreign culture, cult, religion or political group, or other connection commanding prior, competing or higher obligation than their allegiance to the nation

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in which they live and enjoy citizenship, is likely to be regarded with hostility by the rest of the community regardless of other characteristics of minority or majority groups.

5. Great activity and the use of coercive techniques on behalf of such foreign and alien groups is likely to be resented by other groups. Money-raising campaigns, and other conspicuous agitation, are liable to arouse widespread hostility on the part of the public which feels imposed upon by those coercive intrusions, regardless of how worthy the cause.

6. Monopoly or undue concentration on the part of any minority in any profession or occupation of high status will be resented by other groups. The legitimacy of such objection may be debatable but there is no question about the offensiveness of such concentration to the rest of the community. When the minority group in question is also the object of hostility on one or more of the other counts here enumerated, the *un-wisdom* (there is no question about the *right*) of a minority's concentration in strategic occupations is a proper subject for dispassionate rational consideration, especially on the part of the minority concerned.

7. Attempts on the part of *any* group to secure for itself special privileges and immunities are recognized, in the United States at least, as a legitimate ground for hostility. Organizations aiming to suppress criticism of themselves by means of censorship of films, books and other works of art are of this character.

V

But why not treat each individual on his merits regardless of classification? This proposal seems so obviously fair and reasonable that it has become the great rallying cry for all of the admirable people genuinely concerned about unfortunate and unjust discriminations against individuals because of their group membership or classification. Nation-wide campaigns and "brotherhood weeks" are devoted to the propagation of this idea. Unfortunately, for all its merits, the proposal is impractical and is, especially in large impersonal societies, perhaps destined to be increasingly violated.

It may be regrettable but I fear it is a fact that large-scale secondary group societies are as a matter of practical necessity compelled to classify people in an increasing number of ways, and then to accord them privileges and immunities of all kinds not on their individual characteristics and abilities but on the basis of their classification. Innumerable illustrations immediately come to mind.

The privileges of voting and holding office and many other

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rights accrue to a citizen by virtue of his membership in the age group 21 and over, and they are denied to age groups under 21. Legislation specifies that only college graduates may be considered for certain employment. Countless other classifications of human beings on the basis of which they are accorded or denied certain privileges—*i.e.*, are discriminated against—will occur to the reader. Now surely no one would contend that there are not people under 21 who in every relevant respect are better qualified for the privileges reserved for people aged 21 and over. Likewise, I suppose no one will deny that large numbers of people who have never been to college are incomparably better qualified in all the fields in which college is supposed to give one special training than are some college graduates. Yet all these people are unjustly discriminated against by all regulations limiting participation to college graduates.

We may deplore the necessity of practising such discrimination, but we defend it on the practical ground that the probability that, for example, a college graduate can read and write is higher (at least slightly higher) than the probability that non-college people possess these skills. In the same way, knowing what we know about the inferior educational advantages of Negroes, it is probably safe to say that in our culture the probability of a white man knowing how to use a typewriter or operate a slide-rule is greater than the corresponding probability for Negroes. Practical necessities in large secondary group societies unfortunately make necessary such classifications of people on the basis of the *differences in probabilities regarding their possession or non-possession of certain relevant traits.*

To be sure, there is in most such cases no basis for any true computation of probabilities. If we have been bitten by one dog, we are likely to be "prejudiced" against a number of dogs we meet subsequently without much reference to the actual probability of their biting. This attitude is doubtless an injustice to the dog population in general. Also, it can doubtless be shown that many people with anti-dog "prejudices" have never been bitten by dogs at all. But we do know something about the biology and psychology of conditioning and learning which makes it unnecessary for most of us to attribute the "prejudice" against dogs to sexual repression, scapegoatism, racism, or economic infelicity.

In proportion as the criteria for the classification are irrelevant to the functions to be performed, great waste and inefficiency, as well as injustice, result. The advancement of the social sciences should result in greatly improving our methods of classification. I am here merely calling attention to the fact that nearly everyone suffers discriminations every day on the basis of the classification to which he is assigned by the existing rules

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of the social order, regardless of the applicability of these rules to his individual case. Recognition of this fact would do much to put many minority and discrimination problems into proper perspective.

The whole matter is well summarized by the following news item (*Time*, 18th February 1952, p. 67): "The grand jury [Los Angeles] made up its mind about the question of the telephone operators, declared that the board has 'condoned' discrimination against 'colored, Jewish, Oriental applicants, *and applicants of middle-age*'" (my italics). Now, according to the current "line," discrimination against colored, Jewish and Oriental applicants results from prejudice and constitutes a minority problem, whereas exactly the same behavior against "applicants of middle age" is neither discrimination nor a minority problem. And what about discrimination against spastics and the facially deformed? Or consider the exclusion from apartment houses of couples with small children *as well as* colored, Jewish and Oriental persons. The reader will have no difficulty in multiplying illustrations.

VI

In summary, it should be pointed out that the right to discriminate and to choose one's primary group associates on whatever discriminatory basis one pleases is among the most generally recognized in our culture by both common and statute law. It is frequently overlooked that the rights in this respect are correlative and that implied in all our rights to do certain things is also the right not to do them. The right to speak includes the right to be silent. The right to vote includes the right to abstain from voting. The right to join a labor union has, until the Roosevelt dispensation, at least, included the right not to join. The right to associate with Negroes includes the right not to associate with them. The right to drink alcoholic liquor implies the right to abstain therefrom. Has it ever occurred to some of our staunchest crusaders for civil rights that among these rights may be the *right* to dislike and discriminate against colored persons, Oriental persons, poets, sociologists, men, women, children, cats and dogs?

I have no illusions about the nature of these rights or about any others, including the most "inalienable." They come into existence by community consensus and continue to exist only as long as community consensus supports them. It is the privilege of those who disagree with the consensus to attempt to alter it by whatever means the mores allow. In the meantime it is the privilege of others to exercise without apology the rights which by consensus are recognized. Among these is the right

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to practice certain discriminations not yet prohibited by community sentiment, mores or laws.

In short, the right to practice certain discriminations is among the most cherished rights of any people. Indeed, as we saw at the outset, the mores *require* us to discriminate against the disreputable and the disapproved. The exercise of these rights may frequently work a hardship upon those against whom they are exercised. Nevertheless, most people are willing to pay that price for the maintenance of their own right to do likewise. Which of these rights we are willing to give up in return for the achievement of certain other results which we also value becomes, therefore, fundamentally a question of balancing the values we attach to mutually exclusive social situations. In the end, it is on this basis that the question of discrimination against minorities will be settled.

The right of a group to exclude from a private housing area (or from clubs, from fraternities, from employment, etc.) whatever classification of people they wish to exclude, *for whatever reason or lack of reason,* may be neither "rational," "just," "democratic," nor conducive to community peace and good feeling. *Yet to deny them this right may violate a principle of individual freedom that is still more highly valued by nearly everyone, including most of the members of the groups which object to the particular case in which it operates against themselves.* A restriction upon such discrimination *involves a cost* in the incidental abandonment of that set of privileges or freedoms which today constitutes the discriminatory behavior. For it must not be forgotten that, to those who discriminate, this behavior constitutes a value, and frequently a very high ranking value. To those who suffer the discrimination, *this particular* behavior is not a value at all, or it is a negative one, because it affects them adversely. But this does not mean that they do not value highly their own discriminatory behavior against other groups. Nor is it a question of whose values are "best." The values which an individual holds are always by definition "best" to him. What is "best" in general obviously depends upon the criteria of goodness we adopt.

Accordingly, the issues of prejudice and discrimination that have been treated as special problems turn out to comprise merely another case of reconciling or choosing between conflicting values. In that choice, every community has over the centuries decided that for itself certain discriminations shall be maintained. Those who disagree with the valuations in force may attempt to change them. But in the meantime the discriminations represent the community's estimate of *which* freedoms must yield to others. Under this rule everyone will find at some time or other that his own hierarchy of values do

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not coincide with that of the community. He will then feel persecuted and "discriminated" against. He is also likely to feel that he is the victim of personal malice on the part of some individuals and groups. But he will look in vain for a society in which the phenomenon is non-existent, although it may affect different individuals and groups in radically different ways.

It seems never to have occurred to some "minority" analysts that *sometimes* "prejudice" and discrimination need no other explanation than the fact that the case in question is simply a disagreeable person (or group) of a type which would be discriminated against by practically everyone in any community. At other times discrimination is more or less incidental to congenial interpersonal relations in the interest of harmony, efficiency, morale, and so on. This, it seems to me, is an adequate explanation of Mrs Roosevelt's decision to discharge her white employees in favor of an all Negro kitchen force for the White House.[9] But such explanations of *some* discrimination will not satisfy the dedicated anti-discriminationist. He must explain even the simplest case in recondite terms of "authoritarian personality," "racism," or simple personal malice.

The causes of "prejudice" and "discrimination" are doubtless often numerous and involved. (The professional "anti" aggravates the problem by insisting on "*the*" cause instead of *causes*). But the multiplicity of causes constitutes no reason for refusing to include among them quite obvious and objective factors.

VII

Finally, we may call attention to the rather generally observed facts that parochial and other private schools, fraternal organizations, and the like, by virtue of their exclusiveness, inevitably incur a certain hostility as in-groups deliberately discriminating in the choice of clients and members as against the rest of the community. Ordinarily, exclusive groups accept such hostility as a matter of course and as an inevitable cost of exclusiveness. Those who are excluded likewise usually accept the fact and compensate by retaliation when possible, by "sour grapes" rationalizations, or by simply indulging in the luxury of resentment. Only in the case of a few groups is the matter regarded as a "problem" requiring community action. The fact is that,

[9] "But the first criticism I heard against our housekeeping was when Mrs Roosevelt brought in all colored help instead of the mixed staff the Hoovers had in the kitchen, until it was solid Negro. . . . We had our reasons for making this change. Mrs Roosevelt and I agreed that a solid staff in any one color [segregation?] works in better understanding and maintains a smoother-running establishment." Henrietta Nesbitt, *White House Diary*, Doubleday, 1948, p. 78.

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rightly or wrongly, freedom to establish private fraternal and other organizations and to stipulate the criteria for membership is one of the most generally recognized freedoms of our culture. To permit such organizations and at the same time to deny them the privilege of choosing their members seems utterly ridiculous in view of the fact that perhaps their primary reason for existence is precisely this exclusiveness and selectiveness.

The same may be said regarding the much discussed "discrimination" of *private* schools and colleges in the selection of students. I know that it has been argued that since private colleges are tax-free they are in fact quasi-public institutions. The fact remains that under their present charters they were clearly intended to have the right of selecting their students on any basis they see fit, in spite of their exemption from taxation.

In colleges of limited enrollment, *selection* of students on *some* basis is inevitable. This may result in flagrant discrimination against well-to-do students in favor of less well-to-do students (and *vice versa*) if the college wishes to maintain as a definite part of its educational program a socio-economic distribution of students more nearly resembling that which exists in the country at large. The same kind of selection is in practice in some institutions with respect to the geographic distribution of their student body. The complete exclusion of one sex, in men's and women's colleges respectively, hardly needs to be mentioned.

Any number of other classifications of students might be in force either for the purpose of excluding entirely certain categories or assigning them to a stipulated quota. Such selection can be defended on entirely rational grounds in a society where all cultural minorities as well as the majority are free to establish institutions and fraternities of their own. Note that I do not pretend that there is anything self-evident of "scientific" about that conclusion or its opposite. I am merely saying that, *according to my scale of values,* I would rather live in a society where this freedom is allowed than in a society where it is not allowed. I have no quarrel with any person who takes the opposite position, *provided* he does not pretend that *his preference* in the matter has some inherent, self-evident, moral, or "scientific" warrant which mine does not. I insist that there is no "scientific" warrant for either conclusion. It is purely a question of relative values held by an individual or a community.

In this connection should be mentioned one particular type of discrimination because discussions of it illustrate so admirably the confused state of thinking on the subject. I refer to the periodic agitation on the somewhat childish subject of college fraternities.

Before me lies a brochure entitled "Stepping Stones to Fraternity," representing the aims of a (presumably self-

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appointed) "national committee on fraternities in education." The officers and directors are chiefly professors and clergyman, and they are agitated by the well known and indubitable fact that college fraternities exercise "discrimination" in the selection of members. The committee is especially indignant at the practice of some national fraternities for expelling local chapters which desire to admit classes of students barred by the national organization. Accordingly, Point Five of the Committee's objectives is categorically declared to be "permitting young people to select their own companions, free from outside pressures." This goal seems admirable to me and has my enthusiastic support. But on the same page the Committee also solemnly declares that "discrimination in fraternity membership can and should be overcome." This a clear contradiction of Point Five as stated above. "Free to select" *means* "free to discriminate."

Further examination of the brochure only increases the confusion. On page 3 it is asserted that "about half of these societies [national fraternities] have restrictive membership policies." Now obviously the fact is that *all* of them have such policies, because *some* kind of selective and restrictive membership policy is the essence of these organizations. On the same page it is asserted that "sixty per cent opposed *any* discrimination" (the italics are in the original). If they did, it shows that they do not even recognize discrimination when they practice it. The reason for the whole confusion, of course, is that the word *discrimination* is used by the Committee to mean only *those discriminations* to which the Committee objects.

What the Committee means, obviously, is not that it is opposed to discrimination but that it deplores the exclusion of *certain classes* of students from membership. I think it quite likely that I share the Committee's prejudices and tastes in this matter, and if so I gladly join them in a program of education and moral suasion to convert all other men to accept *our* criteria for membership in fraternities—for criteria there *must* be. If this is in fact the Committee's objective, why not say so, instead of claiming to favor "free choice" which may operate just as frequently to exclude as to include prospective members?

And what of the threat on the part of national fraternity organizations to expel local chapters if the latter admit classes of students barred by the national organization? To be sure, this is an attempt to limit the freedom of choice of the local chapter. But what could be more commonplace than a national organization specifying what categories of people may become members? Local chapters that do not approve of the membership specifications laid down by the national organization are under no compulsion to affiliate with the national organization, or to continue their affiliation if already affiliated. This solution

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of the "problem" is so obvious that even college fraternity men have actually discovered it and acted accordingly. They have also displayed a certain realism in accepting as a reasonable price of freedom whatever penalties secession from the national organization entails. All this can be done and has been done without the help of any organized outside help whatever.

I am quite willing to admit that the Committee is animated by genuine sympathy for individuals and classes in some respects underprivileged and discriminated against on grounds which I, too, consider absurd. I am even more concerned with the possibility that (as often happens) in its laudable attempt to correct some evils the Committee invokes principles and methods a thousand times more objectionable than the conditions it aims to correct. The principle of free association (in such matters as fraternities) may well be such a consideration.

I rejoice when I hear that a white fraternity has admitted a Negro, especially when doing so involves certain penalties, such as expulsion from the national organization. But I also rejoice when I hear that any purely private and social organization has refused to be coerced into admitting someone whom *for any reason* they prefer not to admit.[10] *Both* cases represent to me what is meant by freedom of choice.

VIII

The phenomenon of intergroup discrimination is as widespread and as old as human society. All people belong to "in-groups" ("we-groups") with reference to which all other groups are "out-groups" ("they-groups"). *Any* distinguishable characteristic which has implications of subordination or superordination in a status scale becomes the basis for discriminatory behavior.

Fortunately, most of these distinctions and discriminations are taken for granted, and, indeed, are strongly supported by the community mores. Under conditions of rapid social change, however, *certain* distinctions and discriminations become matters of dispute. These special cases constitute the so-called "minority" problems of a given time and place. The controversy in the current stage of social thinking is largely in terms of "rights," "justice," "brotherhood" and other ideals and principles the definitions of which remain largely subjective.[11] We need more objective criteria of "right" and "justice." In the mean-

[10] Dean Roscoe Pound has pointed out the unenforceability of any purely *legal* compulsion in matters of this kind. (*Social Control through Law*, Yale University Press, 1942, pp. 73-74).

[11] See my essay "Conflicting Orientation in Law and National Policy," Chapter 10 in R. W. Taylor (ed.), *Life, Language, Law*, Antioch Press, 1957.

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time, the necessary adjustments tend to be achieved on a functional basis, though often with a serious time-lag.

The right and the desirability of attempting in specific times and places to change the existing class and status alignments have not been questioned. We have been concerned rather with certain neglected aspects of the processes through which such changes take place. Above all, we have emphasized that the attainment of some freedoms and some values for some people usually involves the sacrifice of other freedoms and other values for other people. It is for "minorities" (or more especially their organized pressure groups) to consider whether some of their efforts are not self-defeating in that they may involve the sacrifice for everyone of the very freedoms from which the minorities themselves have the most to gain. The right to form *exclusive* organizations for the advancement of any common interest is one of those freedoms.

We have noted the basic rôle of values in determining the status of cultural minorities in all times and places. An effective program of *modification* of values depends first of all on an accurate determination of *existing* values. What are the content, intensity, hierarchical position, diffusion, trends, and so on of existing value systems? To what extent do pressure groups truly represent the values of the constituents for whom the leaders undertake to speak? Fortunately, the last fifteen years have seen the development of techniques for answering such questions with a degree of validity hitherto unknown.[12] With more adequate information of this type before us the problem can be approached in a manner which will yield maximum satisfaction to all.

[12] Charles Morris and Lyle V. Jones, "Value Scales and Dimensions," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 51, November 1955, pp. 523-535. S. C. Dodd, "How to Measure Values," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, Vol. 18, 1950, pp. 163-168. G. A. Lundberg, "Human Values—A Research Program," *Ibid.*, 1950, pp. 103-111.

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Science and Social Change

A Review of K. B. Clark's *Prejudice and Your Child*

By A. JAMES GREGOR

This volume,[1] a second edition of an earlier work similarly titled, constitutes for Americans one of the most important single volumes of our generation. In it is documented the quite incredible story of one man's quiet effort to prove once more to history that the pen is, indeed, mightier than the sword. For the efforts of Dr Clark constitute the initiating cause of what has become known in our own time as the "crisis of desegregation." When the Supreme Court of the United States in May 1954 declared that the maintenance of separate schools for Negroes and Whites in the Southern States of the North American Republic was unconstitutional, it based its decision on the "finding" of "modern authority,"[2] and that "authority" was, in essence, Dr Kenneth B. Clark. For the famous "footnote eleven" which listed the "modern authority" to which the Court appealed, referred to Clark's "Effect of Prejudice and Discrimination on Personality Development" which was contained in Witmer and Kotinsky's *Personality in the Making*[3] as the only "empirical" study of the effects of segregation on personality development. In Professor Philip Kurland's essay, "The Legal Background of the School Segregation Cases,"[4] he argues that Clark's "factual propositions" are "irrefutable" and the Supreme Court could have reached but one conclusion on their evidence.

That Clark's discursive account as well as his verbal testimony influenced the Court can hardly be gainsaid.[5] The Court contended that the science of psychology had delivered itself of unequivocal conclusions concerning the detrimental effects of

[1] K. B. Clark, *Prejudice and your Child*, second edition, Beacon, Boston, 1963. Pp. 247. Price $1.75.

[2] *Cf.* Appendix II, *Ibid.*, p. 159.

[3] Harper, New York, 1952.

[4] Appendix I to *Prejudice and your Child*, pp. 143-155.

[5] E. Cahn's suggestion ("Jurisprudence," *New York University Law Review*, 1955, p. 150) that the Court did not seriously consider Clark's testimony cannot be supported. The Court literally contended that its decision was based on "factual findings" of the "psychological effect" of racial segregation in the schools (*cf.* Appendix II, *Prejudice and your Child*, p. 159).

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segregation on the personality of the minority child. That such was the case was the argument advanced by the attorneys of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.[6]

The curious feature of all this is that Clark has been exceedingly candid about his inability to testify to these presumed "incontrovertible" factual propositions. The Supreme Court faced the problem of deciding whether the school segregation, in itself, imposed upon children of a specified age range had a detrimental effect on their personality development. In their decision they contended that, indeed, modern science had concluded that school segregation, *per se,* had such a negative effect. And their judgment rested, in good part, on the oral testimony of Kenneth B. Clark! In his testimony before the Court, Clark unequivocally contended that "segregation" had seriously impaired the personality development of the sixteen children he had tested in Clarendon County. The NAACP summarized his testimony to mean that "school segregation" had so afflicted the minor plaintiffs.[7] And yet, it seems this was clearly not the witness Clark's *intention.* He had admitted in his work, "Effect of Prejudice and Discrimination on Personality Development" that "unfortunately for scientific accuracy and adequacy, thoroughly satisfactory methods of determining the effects of prejudice and discrimination on health of personality have not yet been devised,"[8] and more specifically in his present statement, "When the lawyers of the NAACP, in their understandable zeal to develop the strongest possible case, asked the social scientists whether it was possible to present evidence showing that *public school segregation,* in itself, damaged the personalities of Negro children, it was pointed out to them that the available studies had so far not isolated this single variable from the total social complexity of racial prejudice, discrimination and segregation. It was therefore not possible to testify on the psychologically damaging effects of segregated schools alone."[9] Apparently in the confusion which surrounded the presentation of the case the zealous attorneys of the NAACP forgot this commendable admonition and led the Court to believe that Clark was testifying to the effect that school segregation, *per se,* had caused the confusion in the Negro children's "concepts of themselves."[10] Certainly this was the impression the Court received and which has prevailed in the United States ever since. Since that time the fact that error has prevailed over truth has been called to the attention

[6] *Cf.* J. L. Fletcher, *The Segregation Case and the Supreme Court,* Boston University, Boston, 1958, p. 54.

[7] *Cf.* Fletcher, pp. 56 ff.

[8] *Personality in the Making,* pp. 139.

[9] *Prejudice . . .,* p. 193.

[10] *Cf.* U.S. Supreme Court, record of the District Court trial in *Briggs v. Elliott,* pp. 86-90.

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of the Supreme Court by several qualified authorities: Professor Bruno Bettelheim has reported that "there is no scientific evidence that segregation damages the human personality,"[11] and Professor E. van den Haag has contended that Clark's testimony "misled the Courts."[12]

If the Supreme Court decision of May 1954 was indeed based upon "factual findings" there seems to be some considerable confusion as to what the "facts" of the case actually were. Clark admits that he could not testify to the effects of school segregation, *per se,* and yet the Court understood him to have so testified. The question before the Court: "does public school segregation actually impair the personality development of the Negro child?" has never been answered with any finality, and it is upon this question that the ultimate issue turns.

But, in fact, buried in the discursive prose of this present volume there is the suggestion of an answer. The answer lies hidden in the experimental work of Kenneth Clark himself. And it is a most surprising answer. Clark conducted studies on Negro children using simple projective devices in which he attempted to solicit the skin color preferences of the children involved,[13] and he found that while only 20% of the northern Negro children, educated in a biracial environment indicated brown as their skin color preference, 80% of southern Negro children, educated in a racially segregated environment, made this selection.[14] Eleven and twelve year old Negro children attending a non-segregated school were more likely to prefer light skin color than children of the same age attending an all-Negro school.[15] Clark reports that his own findings, supported by those of Trager and Davis, indicate that skin color, *per se,* is more charged with negative emotion among northern Negro children educated in a biracial environment than among southern Negro children educated in segregated institutions.[16]

If Clark's evidence indicates anything at all it indicates that Negro children, at critical periods in their personality development, benefit in an environment which insulates them from interracial contact. In an all-Negro environment Negro children tend to identify themselves with their own group, an identification neces-

[11] *Cf. Prejudice . . .*, p. 199.

[12] E. van den Haag, "Social Science Testimony in the Desegregation Cases: A Reply to Professor Kenneth Clark," *Villanova Law Review,* Vol. VI, 1960, p. 77.

[13] *Cf.* K. B. Clark and M. P. Clark, "Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children," *Readings in Social Psychology,* Edited by Swanson, Newcomb and Hartley, Holt, New York, 1952, pp. 551-560.

[14] *Prejudice . . .*, p. 44.

[15] *Ibid,* p. 48.

[16] *Ibid,* p. 45.

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sary to their psychological health because of their high social visibility. In a mixed environment they attempt self-identification with whites, an identification necessarily impossible for them and which can only lead to the grievous intrapsychic tension which characterizes the Negro personality profile.[17] The unattainable wish to be white is the source of almost insoluble intrapsychic conflict. Schizophrenic Negroes manifest a more overt tendency to identify with whites than non schizophrenic Negroes.[18]

In an all-Negro environment Negro children tend to identify themselves with their own group—with which they will be inevitably identified throughout their mature lives. Such Negroes tend to be more accepting of their own race—they tend to have a higher regard for Negroes and consequently will evince a more positive assessment of themselves.[19] Education in a biracial environment would tend seriously to impair the articulation of the self among Negro children during critical phases in personality formation. Clark's evidence, buttressed by whatever is available in the literature bearing on school segregation, tends to argue for racial separation in the schools at least during the formative years.

Needless to say Clark, who was scientific consultant to the NAACP, is embarrassed by his own findings and proceeds to argue against them in a most singular display of academic subterfuge. "On the surface," he argues, "these findings might suggest that northern Negro children suffer more personality damage from racial prejudice and discrimination than southern Negro children. However, this interpretation would seem to be not only superficial but incorrect. The apparent emotional stability of the southern Negro child may be indicative only of the fact that through rigid racial segregation and isolation he has accepted as normal the fact of his inferior social status."[20] It will be noted that Clark's confident findings have now been reduced to "would seem to be" and "may be." . . . The fact is that most psychologists have granted that the Negro child in an insulated environment does suffer significantly less psychological conflict,[21] and that one of the precipitating causes of out-group orientation, *i.e.*, detrimental white

[17] E. Brody, "Social Conflict and Schizophrenic Behavior in Young Adult Negro Males," *Psychiatry*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, 1961, p. 340.

[18] H. Goldenberg, "The Role of Group Identification in the Personality Organization of Schizophrenic and Normal Negroes," unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, February 1953, p. 76.

[19] *Cf.* M. Hill, "A Comparative Study of Race Attitudes in the All-Negro Community in Oklahoma," *Phylon*, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1946, pp. 260-268.

[20] *Prejudice* . . ., p. 45.

[21] A. Davis, "Racial Status and Personality Development," *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. LVII, October 1943, p. 358.

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identification, among Negro children is early childhood experience as a minority member integrated into a white community.[22]

Faced with these embarrassing considerations Clark introduces a footnote to support his contention that Negroes in the South (as a consequence of school segregation?) suffer more personality impairments: "The conclusion that the future personality adjustment of the northern Negro is healthier than that of the southern Negro may be supported by an examination of the statistics of admissions of Negroes to a northern state hospital for the mentally ill. These figures show that the annual rate of admission of northern-born Negroes is 40 per 100,000 compared to 186 per 100,000 for those Negroes who were born and lived in the south. These figures, striking in themselves, become even more significant when they are compared with the annual rate of admission of 45 for northern born whites. See B. Malzberg, "Mental Disease Among American Negroes," in *Characteristics of the American Negro,* edited by O. Klineberg."[23]

What Clark has done here is to tear figures out of Malzberg's statistical account of the rates of psychiatric disorder among Negroes and render his own "interpretation." Clark is pleased to deal only with the *crude* rate of first admissions and then only with the crude rate of Negro *sedent* first admissions (40 per 100,000) as compared with the crude rate of Negro *migrant* first admissions (186.2 per 100,000) and white sedent first admissions (44.6 per 100,000).[24] These figures, Clark tells us, are "striking," implying that the high crude rate of admissions for Negro migrants is the consequence of the "personality deficits" suffered under segregation (in the schools?) in the South. *But Malzberg nowhere suggests this interpretation.* Malzberg clearly states that "indigenous populations have lower crude rates of mental disease than migrants," *whether those populations are white or Negro.*[25] The crude rate of first admissions for *white migrants was 150.9 per 100,000!*[26] The figures are now no longer so striking. All migrants whether white or black have higher crude rates of first admission. Furthermore, the higher rates of Negro migrant admission are attributable in large measure to the excessive rate of general paresis and alcoholic psychosis among the migrant Negroes![27]

General paresis is the consequence of syphilitic infection.

[22] M. Brenman, "The Relationship between Minority Group Membership and Group Identification in a Group of Urban Middle Class Negro Girls," *Journal of Social Psychology,* Vol. II, 1940, p. 195.

[23] *Prejudice . . .*, p. 46, n. 4.

[24] B. Malzberg, "Mental Disease . . ." pp. 390 f.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 389.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 391.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 390.

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Under conditions prevailing in the South at that time (1920-1930) treatment for such venereal infection was difficult if not impossible for Negroes to obtain. That, combined with the irregular sexual practices which characterize their subculture, explains the high incidence of general paresis among Negro migrants.

Alcoholism, in its turn, is a correlate of socioeconomic conditions. Because the Negro occupies a particularly low socioeconomic position in the South he would be expected to have a high rate of alcoholic psychoses.[28] Finally Malzberg indicates that mental disorder is correlated with the standard of living, with the highest standardized rates of first admissions found among individuals in domestic and personal service.[29] Since most Negroes in the South serve in such capacities we would expect a higher rate of psychoses. Malzberg nowhere suggests that segregation, either school segregation or social segregation *per se*, operates as as a causative variable in the high rate of Negro psychotic impairment either among sedents or migrants. Clark seems to have conjured this up. He has reported only part of the data on crude rates of first admission leaving the reader with the impression that migrant Negroes have an inordinately high rate of psychiatric impairment—which he gratuitiously ascribes to the impact of (school?) segregation. All migrants, white or Negro, have a high rate of impairment. He further fails to report the *standardized rates* (corrected for age differences in the respective populations) which correct the impression given by the crude rates (Negroes 40 per 100,000, whites 44.6 per 100,000) that northern Negroes suffer less psychotic impairments than northern whites. The standardized rates of first admissions are 251.4 ± 8.6 and 108.6 ± 1.0 for northern Negroes and whites respectively giving a ratio of 2.3 to 1. Clark has intentionally left the unwary reader with the impression that southern Negroes have a much higher rate of psychotic impairment than northern Negroes, and that northern Negroes have a lower rate of impairment than northern whites. The first impression is only true in a highly qualified sense: all migrants, either white or Negro, have a higher rate of impairment than do sedents. Since much of the higher rate of impairment is due to the excessive rates of general paresis and alcoholic psychoses, it would be ludicrous to ascribe such an increased rate to segregation *per se*, especially to school segregation. The second impression, that northern Negroes have a lower incidence of psychotic impairment than northern whites, is clearly false.

What we are left with is rather compelling evidence that school integration may seriously impair the personality development of

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 392.

[29] B. Malzberg, "The Influence of Economic Factors on Mental Health," *Mental Health*, 1939, pp. 185-191.

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Negro children—precisely the reverse of the impression left with the Supreme Court of the United States by Clark.[30]

There are many further engaging anomolies in this volume by Clark, questions asked but not answered, issues bruited but not resolved. For example, the question of academic standards in congregated situations is raised: "Will academic standards of the school be lowered by the admission of Negro children . . . will . . . academic achievement suffer?"

Clark's answer to this question turns on the effect of segregation, *per se*, on the educability of Negro children: "The anxiety about whether academic standards will be lowered when Negroes are admitted to a previously all-white school arises from the fact that the academic standards of segregated Negro schools are generally lower . . . the apparent differences in intellectual levels were due not to inherent racial differences but primarily to differences in educational opportunity and general social environment. Segregation itself retarded the academic achievement of Negro children."[31] He goes on to suggest that as Negro children "moved from southern segregated schools to northern non-segregated schools, their level of achievement rose. After about three or four years in the new environment, they reached the average level of achievement of children who had had all of their schooling under more favorable circumstances. It would seem likely, therefore, that the desegregation of schools will improve the intellectual level of these children."[32]

All the suggestions here imply that educational segregation, in and of itself, impairs the educability of Negro children, and that desegregation will lift them to a level of achievement comparable to that of white children. Neither contention can be supported in fact. The first contention discreetly avoids identifying the central issue: if we grant for the sake of discussion that Negro children have a lower level of achievement in the South when compared to Negro children in the North, *can we distinguish between the retarding effects of inferior plant and instruction,* which characterized for a long time the education of Negro children in the South, *and the presumed retarding effect of segregation per se?* This could be done by comparing the performance of Negro students attending segregated and desegregated schools both of which have similar plant and instruction. Some few studies of this kind have been conducted. M. R. Crowley,[33] H. D. Gregg[34] and R. W.

[30] *Cf.* A. J. Gregor, "The Law, Social Science and School Segregation: An Assessment," *Western Reserve Law Review*, September 1963.

[31] *Prejudice . . .*, p. 125. [32] *Ibid.*

[33] "Cincinnati's Experiment in Negro Education: A Comparative Study of the Segregated and Mixed School," *Journal of Negro Education*, April 1932, pp. 25-33.

[34] "Non-Academic and Academic Interests of Negro High School Students

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Pugh[35] have conducted studies bearing on this problem and the conclusion arrived at is summarized by Pugh in the following propositions: "There is no statistically significant difference in the academic achievements of Negro students in the two types of schools [segregated and desegregated]" and "there is no significant difference in their academic interests."[36]

When differences in plant and instruction are ameliorated Negro children educated in an all-Negro environment apparently suffer no academic impairment.

Clark's second *suggestion* is that under conditions of equality of plant and instruction and congregation there will be no mean difference in the achievement of the Negro and white groups. He does not say this *explicitly* because he knows that such a suggestion is false. What he does say is that as "Negro children moved from southern segregated schools to northern non-segregated schools, their level of achievement rose," which is perhaps true, but the improvement is in all probability the consequence of more adequate plant and instruction, and not the consequence of congregation. But he goes on to suggest that "after three or four years in the new environment, they reached the average level of achievement of children who had had all their schooling under more favorable circumstance," the implication being that the immigrant Negro children reached *white* achievement norms in the North, *which is not the case.* What they did achieve (if we grant the truth of the argument) was the level of the *northern Negro mean, which was still appreciably lower than that of the whites*;[37] which is, of course, predictable, since Negro children who have lived all their lives in New York possess a mental age quotient six months to one and a half years below that of white children of the same age level.[38] Such a deficit is generally indicative of reduced scholastic achievement. By discretely not mentioning which groups of children were being compared, Clark has left the impression that the Negro immigrants from the South achieved the norms of the white sedents in northern schools, which was not the case. There are very few studies in which the Negro group approximates a mean achieve-

in Mixed and Separate Schools," *Journal of Negro Education,* Vol. VII, January 1938, pp. 41-47.

[35] "A Comparative Study of the Adjustment of Negro Students in Mixed and Separate High Schools," *Journal of Negro Education,* Vol. XII, Fall 1943, pp. 607-616.

[36] R. W. Pugh, *op. cit.,* p. 608.

[37] *Cf.* O. Klineberg, "Negro-White Differences in Intelligence Test Performance: A New Look at an Old Problem," *American Psychologist,* Vol. XVIII, No. 4, April 1963, pp. 200 f.

[38] *Cf.* H. E. Garrett, "Klineberg's Chapter on Race and Psychology: A Review," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. I, No. 1, July 1960, p. 18.

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ment performance equal to that of the white group under any conditions.[39]

There is no evidence that congregation will ameliorate the mean differences in performance which now distinguish the two groups: Negro overlap with respect to the white norms is generally only 18 to 20% of tests of intelligence and achievement, which means that over 80% of the Negroes fall below the white norm. The massive integration of the two groups can only result in a significant reduction in the mean of the white group. White parents are aware of this, and the deterioration of school educational standards has been one of the prime motivating factors in white evacuation in areas of Negro inmigration.[40]

Many of Clark's further pronouncements are subject to considerable reservation. His conviction that white children suffer "fundamental moral conflict"[41] as a consequence of existing segregation is not supported by any evidence—in fact whatever we know about this hypothesis, that whites suffer moral tension as a consequence of the existence of segregation, indicates that the whole issue has been oversimplified. In Campbell's judgment, "Gunnar Myrdal performed a disservice to our understanding of segregated social systems by his drastic simplification of the normative dimensions of the issue. His position that the race issue must be understood as a conflict between the base and the idealistic elements of man's nature—man's self-seeking, selfish interests in profiting from segregation versus his affective commitment to the ideals of the American Creed—undoubtedly is deficient in describing significantly large elements of the white population."[42]

There is no evidence that white children suffer moral crises as a consequence of *de jure* segregation. This crisis was apparently the product of conjecture and is perpetuated in the literature without critical reservations by "liberal" sociologists and psychologists.

Clark's volume requires judicious evaluation. His influence in our own time is difficult to assess, but that he has had influence is without question. That many of the answers he has tendered are subject to considerable reservation seems equally without question. The recent finding of the United States Federal District Court in the school desegregation case in Georgia, where it was held that even token congregation of the races might well engender more problems than it resolves,[43] would seem to augur a reassessment of Clark's work and influence. It has been a long time coming.

[39] *Cf.* A. Shuey, *The Testing of Negro Intelligence,* Bell, Lynchburg, 1958.

[40] *Cf.* S. Fauman, "Housing Discrimination, Changing Neighborhoods and Public Schools," *Journal of Social Issues,* Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1957, pp. 21-30.

[41] *Prejudice . . .*, p. 78.

[42] "Moral Discomfort and Racial Segregation: An Examination of the Myrdal Hypothesis," *Social Forces,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 3, March 1961, p. 233.

[43] *Stell v. Savannah-Chatham County Board of Education*; *cf. U.S. News and World Report,* 27th May 1963, pp. 88-90.

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Early Hebrew and Palestinian Ethnology

By R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

The early classification of mankind—which persisted down to the last century—assumed that there were three stocks, respectively descended from Shem, Ham, and Japheth. This was based upon the account in Genesis, particularly in Chapter X which sets out a list of the races with which the biblical writer was concerned, and which theologians and historians later concluded were all the races of mankind. On the basis of this triune division it was believed that Ham gave rise to the black races, Shem to the white races, and Japheth to the yellow races. In point of fact the account in Genesis does not in any way give support to this idea. What it does is to list three distinct groups of people, by their ethnographical characters, into three genealogical systems to show relationships—in fact it represents probably the most comprehensive ethnographical survey of pre-Christian times. There is no doubt that sociological and cultural phenomena—for instance language—as well as known genetic relationships influenced the development of this schematic genealogical system of relationships.

The Shemitic group comprised northern peoples whom today we know to have been very largely Aryans, or people with Aryan relationships of some kind or another; the Hamitic group were Palestinian and related peoples who are best described as Mediterraneans, and the Japhetic group were the peoples who were located in parts of Anatolia, the Taurus, the Caucasus, and Media, among other places. These were in fact the arc of peoples whom we now know were substantially of Armenoid and Alpine type, no doubt related linguistically to such groups as the Sumerians and probably (to carry their extension eastwards) to the peoples of the Indus Valley civilisations.

Because of theological influence, since the Patriarchs were of this Shemitic stock and since their descendants spoke Hebrew it followed that this was also thought to be a Shemitic language—and thus the term came to be applied to that great group of languages which today we call Semitic. However, had these theologians been ethnologists they could not have fallen into making such a mistaken classification; they would have had to classify Hebrew quite differently. Hebrew was a language of Canaan, and so it belonged to the group of languages which were

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spoken by the peoples of Canaan—who, according to the ethnographical tables of Genesis X, were Hamitic! Meanwhile, because of this quite mistaken understanding of the ethnology presented in Genesis X, the theologians had given the term Hamitic to the group of peoples and languages stretching from Egypt westwards and southwards—on the assumption that these peoples, being in Africa, were some kind of "blacks" and were therefore Hamites. Strictly speaking this group of peoples, for quite other reasons than being black (which they were and still are not), were related to the peoples of Canaan, and were indeed Hamitic in the classificatory sense of Genesis X. But it is doubtful if the term Hamitic could be extended, in its precise ethnographical meaning as employed in Genesis X, to all the peoples we would today call Hamitic.

The modern so-called Hamitic stocks are really Ethiopic—that is, a strain which is the result of a fusion at an early period, subsequently largely stabilised by selection, between the Caucasoid Mediterraneans (true Hamites of Genesis X) and the Negroids.

The curious thing is that because the Jews are historically descended from Judah, and so from the Hebrews, they are classified in the Genesis X sense as Semites (that is Shemites). But nowadays, in fact, they have much less relationship than in earlier times to the peoples whom the ancient ethnographer called Semites—who were Aryans with a considerable amount of Nordic in their antecedents. As far as the language is concerned the Hebrew group should not be called Semitic at all, in the precise sense of the ethnographer of Genesis X, but Hamitic. The languages which should be regarded as Semitic (in the Genesis X sense) were really Aryan or largely influenced by Aryan.

It will thus be seen that it is necessary to forget the modern connotations of terms like Semitic, Hamitic and so on when considering the ethnological distributions of the Genesis account. Confusion and contradictions which occur in this Genesis ethnography are more apparent than real. For instance, the Assyrians are given a northern (Shemite, that is Aryan or largely Aryan-influenced) origin; whereas we know that they were linguistically Semitic (in the current use of that term, or Hamite in the Genesis terminology) and racially largely Mediterranean. But the fact of the matter is that the ethnographer of Genesis X knew, as we now know, that Assyria was on the borders of a ring of states which appear to have been Aryan, some of which encroached upon her, such as that of the Mitannians; therefore it is quite possible that there was a northern element in Assyrian ethnology, of which the writer was more conscious than we are. We have the same phenomenon today—of Kurds, of northern origin, occupying the northern parts of the same territories.

Likewise we have confusion with regard to the Amorites. The

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Amorites were indigenous peoples in Syria and Palestine, and so it is not surprising to find that in Genesis X they are classified as of Canaan (that is a Hamite or Mediterranean stock). But at the same time we find the inhabitants of the same region called Arameans, so that this becomes an alternative name for the Amorites. Yet in Genesis X we find this name, Aram, is used to link them with the descent from Shem (which is used as the generic name for all the northern and largely Aryan peoples). But the explanation lies in the fact that the Nordic Aramites conquered Amurland and in due course became known by the name of the natives, in much the same way as the Teutonic English have become known by the name of their predecessors, the Celtic British. There is no doubt that generally speaking the Arameans were known by the name of the people they had ousted from dominance in Syria and northern Palestine. Certainly the Arameans were known to the Egyptians by this earlier name which in fact had nothing to do with them.

We have observed that the relationships of the people who are the descendants of Shem are, so far as Genesis X is concerned, basically Aryan. It is from this line that the Hebrew Patriarchs are, in that account, derived. Therefore, so far as the most valuable ethnographical exposition of the ancient world is concerned, there is no doubt as to the antecedents of the ancient Hebrews. This, then, is in stark contrast to the accepted views of biblical exposition, and to the historic views gradually developed and slowly imposed upon us by centuries of theological and biblical scholars.

It is more likely that the compiler or compilers of Genesis X had a deeper insight into the relationships of the primitive Hebrews than had later generations of biblical scholars whose ethnographical information was slight and whose data was non-existent. This fact alone should lead us to doubt current and popular ideas which have been derived from these sources.

It is at this juncture that we find that there is a sufficiency of information at our disposal to establish a theory of ethnological relationships for the ancient Hebrews which is completely in accord with the ideas of the Genesis ethnographer—and we believe that this concordance establishes without a shadow of doubt that the theory which we are about to propound is basically true, whatever modifications it may require in detail.

In the first place we have the biblical account of the origin of the Patriarchs, and so of Israel; in this we learn that they came from Padan Aram, from Ur of the Chaldees, and from the land of Nahor. A great deal of mischief has been done by a misunderstanding of this term *Ur of the Chaldees.* There is an Ur in Chaldea, a distance of 600 miles away from Padan Aram with which the biblical Ur is associated. Indeed, when Sir Leonard

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Wooley excavated the Chaldean Ur he proclaimed it to be Ur of the Chaldees. Now Padan Aram is in northern Syria and the land immediately across the Euphrates to the north. The land of Nahor is the same land—the land that was called Naharaim by the Egyptians on their monuments, and which was their great northern outpost on the Euphrates. It is, therefore, quite clear that Ur of the Chaldees in the Bible must be in this region and not hundreds of miles away in lower Babylonia in Chaldea. This becomes apparent also when we forget all about the English translation and realise that what the original text says is Ur in the land of the Chesed or Khased—that is the land of the Khassedites or probably Khassites—a northern people with definite northern racial and linguistic affinities. To do justice to the theologians and the archaeologists who have followed them, it should be pointed out that the confusion has been created by the fact that the biblical writers in Palestine, from which travellers had to reach Babylon and Chaldea through the northern arc of the Fertile Crescent (which was this land of Aram, Nahor, and Ur of the Khased), often conceived of all beyond Khased as covered by that name. So they could use it, by extension, to include not only the northern arc of the Fertile Crescent but also the whole of the eastern half of the Crescent to its very tip—just as continental people insist on addressing letters to the writer at Edinburgh, *England*, because to reach Edinburgh in Scotland one has to pass through England. But this conception of Khased does not justify us in perpetuating an ethnographical error.

There was an Ur, sacred to the Moon Goddess, in the lands to the north across the Euphrates, in the region which for the biblical writer was the land of Nahor. This, not the one dug up by Sir Leonard Wooley, was undoubtedly the real Ur of the Bible account. This land is also known to us as the Land of the Mitanni.

That Ur of the Chaldees is an Ur in the land of Khased, and that Khased was in the vicinity of Padan Aram and the Land of Nahor, is proved by the fact that the pedigree of this stock with which we are dealing includes a person called Arphaxad. He was the brother of Aram, and so he was eponymous of a stock related to that of the Nordic Aramean Amorites. It is significant that in the Hebrew, as Professor Sayce has pointed out,[1] this name is written Arpha-Chesed—Arpha of the Chesed, Khased or Khasdim.

In other words, the region from which the Patriarchal tribe came was the northern section of the Fertile Crescent of Northern Syria, and that region immediately across the Euphrates, which was occupied by the Mitannian peoples. This is absolutely

[1] A. H. Sayce, *The Races of the Old Testament*, London, 1925, p. 100.

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consistent with the biblical account which specifically says that Abraham was a Syrian, that is an Aramean, a person from the land of Aram.

Apart from the ethnographical account of Genesis X, the ancient Egyptians have given us a valuable ethnological account of the peoples of the Near East in a series of conventionalised racial portraits. Whereas the biblical method was based on historic ethnography and is given to us in a genealogical classificatory system in Genesis X, the Egyptian method was anthroposcopical, and consisted of conventionalised portraits which singled out the essential racial characters of the peoples with whom the Egyptians were in contact. Thus, the one system is complementary to the other.

Therefore, not only have we the account of Genesis X to show us distinctly that the compiler placed the Aramean Amorites with the northern (Aryan-influenced, if not always Aryan) peoples, but we also have the evidence of the monuments, which depict them under the name of Amar or Amurra and show them as distinctly Nordic in type.[2] The heads show faces with long profiles, long skulls, long noses, thin nostrils, and thin lips. At Abu-Simbel they are shown with the skin depicted in a light colour, and with the eyes coloured blue;[3] at Kadesh both the skin and the hair are shown light, even if the eyes are shown as light brown.[4] Besides all this, the Bible tells us[5] that these people were very tall—a typical characteristic of the Nordic, Atlantic and Dinaric races, especially when compared with Mediterraneans, who were the indigenous folk of the Fertile Crescent region stretching from Palestine to Babylonia. Since the Dinarics and Atlantics are not

[2] Carping critics will say that language is no test of race, and so we cannot mix up terms like Aryan, which is linguistic and cultural, and Nordic, which is genetic and racial. No one needs to be reminded that language and race are not necessarily the same thing; on the other hand there is a certain concordance between language and race. Thus the Bantu languages and the Negroid racial types are concordant, and where we find the former we would expect to find the latter, or some influence from Negroid peoples at some stage or another. In the same way there is a close concordance between Indo-European or Aryan and Nordic. All or most of the Nordic racial groups we know of speak or spoke Aryan although, as they often overran other racial groups and imposed their languages on them, not all Aryan speakers are Nordics. Even so, where Aryan speakers occur it is reasonable to look for some Nordic connection at some stage or another. Thus the Indianisation of India—that is the introduction of an Aryan culture and linguistic system to the north and centre—is associated with the settlement of Aryans in the second millennium B.C., and all we can learn and deduce about them indicates that they were a fair people—as the upper castes are still, especially in the north where, indeed, blue eyes are still found.

[3] Sayce, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

[4] *Ut supra, pp.* 167-8.

[5] Amos, II, 9.

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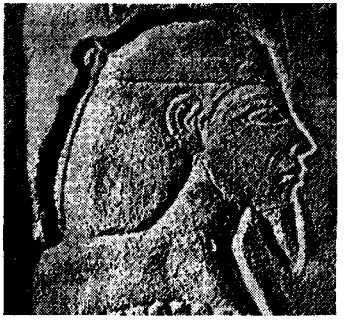
Nordic Amorites (*i.e.* Arameans) from the time of Ramses II

Armenoid Hittites from various Egyptian monuments



Syrian, Temple of Thothmes III, Karnak; Mitannian, Great Hall, Karnak

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directly involved in the ethnology with which we are dealing, it is clear that this attribute is to be credited to the Nordics in this context. Therefore, it seems inescapable that we are dealing with a ruling warrior class in Syria which was of Nordic origin.

The description of Abraham as a Syrian (that is an Aramean) specifically puts him into that group of peoples in the north-western section of the Fertile Crescent who were at this time quite fair in appearance and in every way of the type we now call Nordic. There are, however, other facts which support this conclusion, if any more evidence apart from that which has already been provided could possibly be needed to establish the case. For instance, we now know that the whole of the Anatolian region to the north of the Fertile Crescent had been conquered by Aryans. Aryan names appear among the rulers and the deities of the Hittites. These facts alone point to the seepage of dominant Aryans into this region. Then again, adjoining Padam Aram was the land of the Mitanni, who had conquered widely in these parts, and who are now known to have had Aryan connections and antecedents of some kind or another. In the same complex of peoples we have the Khassites—whose name may well be the same as Khasdim—who, it is now realised, also had northern origins, from whom the Kurds are in part derived, and who clearly carry Nordic traces to this day, although they are much influenced by the Armenoid type.

In the light of these facts it is as well to consider certain aspects of Patriarchal religion and society. Despite attempts—based entirely on a misconception of such things as the symbology of the 12 tribes of Israel—to find totemism in the Hebrew social institutions, Patriarchal society as it has come down to us in the biblical accounts is markedly endogamous and patriarchal—with a pronouncedly Father-God, or Sky-Father, character. Thus God, Jehovah, is a God of Battles, and it seems hard to escape the conclusion that he is the Thunderer or the Sky-Father of the Aryans. When we realise that Astarte, the Mother Goddess, was the dominant deity of the Canaanitish lands, and that all the indications are that in some greater or lesser degree the order of society was based on that fact—that is the society had a markedly mother-right tendency—then it is clear that this patriarchal social and religious order was intrusive. That being so there is only one direction from which it could have come, and that is the north. Even the name of the God of the Patriarchs, Jehovah, Yahweh, is so like Jupiter, Zeus-Piter, of the Aryans that despite philological objections it appears to be confirmatory of these conclusions. Not only that, but the character of this God—the ultra-masculine Father-God and God of Battles—displays traits which belong to the Aryan world rather than to the Canaanitish-Babylonian cultural zone. The character of Jehovah is that, lawyer-like, He

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enters into covenants with His creatures, and He is as much bound by the agreement as they are. This is the clear juridical sense which comes out very consistently in the Aryan civilisations.

As if this were not enough, there are other factors which cannot be overlooked. The *Habiru* were a body of mercenary soldiers employed by the Hittites. Scholars have tried to argue that it is a term which was used for any vagrant body of ne'er-do-weels. That may be as it may. But it is unlikely that a military empire such as the Hittite one would employ worthless mercenary troops. Mercenary troops have to be better than the native levies to get employment for themselves. Also, it would be natural for the ruling dynasty to employ troops which were in some manner or another of a similar derivation to that from which it came itself. It cannot be a coincidence, therefore, that the same name crops up again in the region immediately adjoining the Hittite Empire as that of a Syrian (Aryan) people—the Hebrews—pouring out of Naharaim, or the Mitannian lands, into the northern provinces of Palestinian Egypt.

One of our troubles is that in the course of history we have created for ourselves certain images, and we are still in bondage to these preconceived notions. Not only have we the picture of the Jewish people as one engaged only in commerce, to be classified as so-called Semites, in front of us, but we think of their Patriarchal ancestors as peaceful pastoralists coming out of the Arabian steppes. These images which we have created obscure the truth, and because of them biblical and other scholars have found it difficult to see in the Hebrews of the Genesis stories in the Bible any connection with a warrior tribe or caste of mercenaries in the employment of the Aryan dynasty of the Hittites. That the stories of Genesis, however, indicate a northern military people is shown time and again when we come to analyse them.

If Abraham had been solely the peaceable leader of a tribe of people only interested in their flocks and herds he would not have been able to conceive of, and then put into execution, a brilliant night attack against the five kings. This was the action of a general, not of a marauding pastoral Bedouin. Furthermore, we suggest that the invasion of Palestine by the Patriarchs would appear to have coincided with the collapse of the native Egyptian dynasty and so with a weakening of the defence of its frontiers and with the general southward extension of Syrian tribes and related folk; obviously this would have provided the background against which this incident occurred.

These movements were part of the general movements of northern (mainly Aryan) peoples to the south which took place from about 2000 B.C. onwards, both into India and into the Fertile Crescent, and it seems hard to escape the conclusion that the

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overthrow of the native Egyptian dynasty was associated with them. The Shepherd Kings, Hyksos or Haqu Shashu, of Egypt introduced the horse, which was particularly to be associated with Inner Asia—the direction from which the Aryans arrived—and which animal had long been used by the Aryans. Furthermore, it is clear from the biblical account that it was under the Shepherd Kings that Israel, or at least a part of the tribal Hebrews of Palestine, settled in Egypt, and Joseph rose to high office. It was, moreover, when the Shepherd Kings were overthrown that there arose a *Pharaoh who knew not Joseph,* and the stage had been reached when it could be said that to the native Egyptian a *Shepherd was an abomination.* It was then that the Israelites were brought under the yoke of oppression, from which they escaped ultimately into Palestine to join the rest of their stock again. Even at as late a time as that, when much mixture with alien blood must have occurred, their strong tendencies to endogamy and racial segregation expressed themselves in the savage laws which were given them to destroy the Canaanites, whom they dispossessed, and not to mate with them.

That we are right in suggesting that there was a racial link between the Hyksos, Haqu Shashu, or Shepherd Kings of Egypt, and the Patriarchs, is largely substantiated by the work of Professor Sayce, whom the writer knew as a first class ethnologist, even if his archaeology is now somewhat dated. He drew attention to the fact that the Hyksos were, as depicted on the monuments, a striking type, and he pointed out that "among the ethnological types presented by the Egyptian sculptures there is only one which can be compared with that of the Hyksos monuments. This is the type peculiar to the inhabitants of Northeastern Syria, in the district called Nahrina by the Egyptians and Aram-Naharaim in the Old Testament. It was a district of which the centre was Mitanni in the fifteenth and following centuries before the Christian era. . . ."[6]

We now know that the Mitanni were a people who were Hurrian—probably they were basically a Mediterranean-Armenoid type ruled by a Nordic upper class. The upper structure of their society formed a *mariannu* or feudal class of lords; the language spoken was Aryan, akin to Sanskrit. Their racial type, however, judging by the monuments, was not the classical Nordic, as portrayed by the sculptures of the Aramean Amorites, but had shorter noses and high cheek bones. In other words, it was more Alpine, and not so Armenoid as the Hittites.[7] Thus, it is clear that the Shepherd Kings had a racial character which belonged to the very region whence came the Patriarchs. If one was of Aryan ante-

[6] Sayce, *op. cit.,* p. 145.

[7] This may also indicate some Atlantic strain.

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cedents so was the other; and the settlement of the Hebrews in Egypt under the Shepherd Kings is completely explained. The Patriarchal movement into Palestine was, therefore, clearly part of a much greater movement of peoples of Aryan origins and associations which took place somewhere in the first half of the second millennium B.C. There is little doubt that in this period both the Hittites and the Aramean Amorites established themselves in Palestine. Indeed that country was known for a time as Hittite-land.

These invaders became probably progressively absorbed by the native Canaanites (Mediterraneans), and this accounts for some of the anomalies we find in Genesis X, where for instance the Sons of Heth are classified as of the same stock as Canaan. Nevertheless, at the time of the Patriarchs, such Hittites would still be largely representative of their historical nationality,[8] and it is therefore not surprising to find that Abraham, an ally of the Hittite empire if our hypothesis is correct, had resort to the Children of Heth when he wanted land in which to bury his dead.

Among their many centres in Palestine the Jebusites and the Hittites appear to have occupied Jerusalem itself, and all the biblical references are to these peoples being the settlers of Salem before Israel. As the Jebusites were native Palestinians (that is, Canaanites) whereas the Hittites were intruders from the north (even if they were sufficiently acculturated to Canaan to be classified as Canaanitish by the Genesis X writer), it seems evident that the Hittite occupation of Jerusalem must have been the last prior to that of Israel. At the time of Abraham the Hittites were probably still a northern people in most respects: we would suggest that they were probably of the warrior or upper caste of the Hittites—that is, largely Aryan. Bearing in mind the dependence of the mercenary *Habiru*—whom we believe were the ancestors of the Hebrews—on their Hittite commanders and overlords, it is not surprising that after the battle with the kings Abraham went to Melchizedek, King of Salem, to offer him the fruits of victory. This was clearly an act of allegiance, and suggests that the Hebraic tribe was in some confederacy of which the King of Jerusalem was the head.

Much misunderstanding has existed in the minds of theologians concerning Melchizedek, whom they made a mystical being because he was said to have neither father nor mother and to be without beginning and without end. This was, however, owing

[8] The Genesis X account largely deals with a situation which would fit the first half of the second millennium B.C. But, since the Bible was edited around the sixth century B.C., there is no doubt that the situation then prevailing would colour the original distributions and derivations. Long before this editorial period the Hittites of Palestine were entirely acculturated to Canaanitish culture—and so they were written down as Canaanite. But in Patriarchal times their culture was probably still largely Hittite.

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to their failure to grasp the significance of Kingship as it was particularly understood in the primitive Aryan world.

Aryan Kingship comes down from Heaven. There is a Divine Right which rests in the Monarch, who is God's appointed and usually (as still with the British Monarchy) God's Anointed. The King has no beginning and no end, because the Monarchy commences in God, and when the King dies the new King carries on the Divine Kingship—hence, even to this day, the British formula: "The King is Dead, Long Live the King," which is pronounced on the death of the King simultaneously with the proclamation of his successor. This then was the attribute of the leader of the confederacy of invading tribes. Thus we have an explanation of a phrase which has caused the writing of literally hundreds of theological works in the past to explain that Melchizedek was a mystical being, a reincarnation of Christ, and so forth. In the New Testament Christ was called a King after the order of Melchizedek, not for any other reason presumably than the fact that it was realised at that time that Melchizedek represented a Divine Kingship—but Divine in a different way from that which theologians of later times conceived it.

If we reconstruct the events aright, there was a continuation of these invasions from the north right down to the time of the Tell el Amarna letters *circa* 1360 B.C. when the reforming monotheistic Pharaoh Akhnaton was ruling Egypt. By this time it is reasonable to suppose that the earlier invaders of Palestine had, in many cases, come to be recognised by the Egyptians in return for at least nominal fealty, and they in their turn would, because of their vested interest in the maintenance of the *status quo*, even support Egypt against their own kinsfolk at a later period. This, we judge, was the case of Ebed Kheba, King of Jerusalem. We do not think there is any evidence to show he was a native Canaanitish ruler and not a northerner by origin as some have assumed. It is unlikely if Jerusalem had at an earlier period already been in the hands of an invading *Habiru* overlord (Abraham) that it had subsequently returned to native rulership. In view of this, the possibility is that the rulership of Jerusalem was linked, in some way or another, to peoples from Mitanni-land or Hittite-land. In that case Ebed Kheba had a northern ancestry, and since he is later in time than Melchizedek he was his successor if not his descendant. It is, therefore, significant to find that in his letters to Egypt he uses precisely the same formula of Divine Kingship as we find in the Bible concerning Melchizedek.[9]

[9] It should be observed that the probability is that this attribute of the monarch would survive after acculturation to Canaanitish culture, language and even religion—as it did in the European monarchies, and still does in the British, after innumerable cultural and religious changes.

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The account of the Hebrews which we find in the Pentateuch includes many additional pieces of evidence which are of significance when these ancient writings, often containing traditions which are much older than the date at which they were committed to writing, are read in the light of historical ethnology and ethnography. Among the numerous points to which we could allude are only a few which can be mentioned within the scope of a short account such as this. What, today, would be called the *racialism* of the Hebrews corresponds with an Aryan origin. The Aryans had made a two-pronged movement southwards—one across the Himalayas into India, and the other through the Caucasus Mountains and Anatolia to the south into Syria, with an overflow beyond of elements such as those with which we are now dealing. In the course of both movements the Aryans came into contact with urban and settled civilisations, probably of a much higher technology than their own. Their inherent endogamy and pride of ancestry drove them in both cases to create laws against racial miscegenation, and out of this arose the caste system with an hereditary priesthood (the Brahmins) in India, and the analagous development of a hereditary priesthood (the Levites) in Palestine. In both we find an hereditary ruling class—the soldier caste in one, and tribal princes in the other.

Another incident is worth mentioning as it is connected with the same racial concepts and the strict adherence to endogamy of these early invaders of Palestine. It is the much misunderstood story of Esau's birthright. No one reading that story, as it is told in the translations in modern tongues, is not moved at the apparent injustice which Esau suffered, and surprised at the apparent and inexplicable fact that the Bible appears to condone Jacob's purloining of first Esau's birthright and then his blessing. When, however, it is understood that Esau had committed the unforgivable sin of marrying outside of his own stock, it will be realised that in fact he had in tribal law forfeited his right of inheritance to the chiefship of his people. However, as his father's favourite, it was feared that the father would break tribal sanctions and endow him with that which was no longer his, and so we find that Jacob resorted to a trick to obtain the legal conveyance to himself of that which was already his by right as the legal successor: and, likewise, his mother instigated her son to the final trick to obtain the blessing and prevent her husband on his death bed from committing a monstrous miscarriage of justice in tribal law by conferring the chiefship on a man who had flagrantly defied tribal custom, and all the ethics of his blood, by marrying outside of his kith and kin into an alien people with alien laws and alien gods.

The strong endogamous instinct coupled with patrilineal descent in this tribal people is shown when Jacob, in contrast to Esau, is sent back to his own people in the far north to get his wives from the familial stock from which they had all been bred,

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The same endogamy had caused Abraham to marry his close relative, called his sister in the Bible account; and Isaac had married his cousin, the sister of Laban. The reason for casting out Ishmael from the tribe was that his mother was a foreign woman, and the Ishmaelites were considered a misalliance. The same thing is true of Edom, the people who were traditionally derived from Esau and who were, as a consequence, no longer considered a part of the Hebraic tribe because of their base descent on the distaff side. The harshness to Ishmael and his mother, and to Esau, was connected with the fact that the racial sanctity of the tribe had been broken and racial half-breeds had been produced.

We can go some way, therefore, to point to the ethnological development of the ancient Hebrews. It seems clear from their own account's genealogical tabular form of classification that they considered themselves to belong to that bascially northern group (probably largely Nordic in racial type and Aryan in culture) conceived of as the sons of Shem, who moved down from Anatolia into the lands adjacent to Syria, flowed across the Egyptian frontiers at a time when the pressure of the northern tribes drove in those frontiers, and with other warrior tribes ultimately occupied Palestine.

Here they found themselves among aliens of a superior urban and technological civilisation, which had a matrilineal system and placed strong emphasis upon the Mother Goddess. Their first reaction was to intensify their endogamy, and their chiefly line saw to it that their matches were with their own stock, and so even at the expense of quite long journeys to the north they went back there for their wives.

Gradually, however, these tribes settled down among the indigenous people and steadily became Canaanitised, during which time they lost their own language and many of their native customs. A Canaanitish language, one of the languages of the group of peoples which Genesis X classifies as Hamite, was gradually adopted and became theirs. But it is very doubtful if the immediate ancestors of any of the Patriarchs mentioned in the Bible from Abraham to Jacob were able to speak this language —Hebrew—except as foreigners using it as a medium of communication with the conquered and despised indigenous people.

Naturally, despite these laws against miscegenation, since all the stocks concerned were Caucasoid, racial crossing was difficult to prevent and no doubt in the end prevailed. But, even as late as the time of the Kingdom of Judah, types are portrayed which look distinctly Aramean Amorite—that is Nordic—although better known portrayals show an Armenoid type.

It seems very likely, therefore, that a Nordic and Nordo-Armenoid stock invaded Palestine between the first half and the middle of the second half of the second millennium B.C. or there-

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abouts, and whatever absorption of Mediterranean elements may have arisen from the Canaanitish intermixtures, which no doubt did occur, this Nordo-Armenoid strain still survived until the Captivity in the sixth century. Intermarriage with Syrian strains seeping in from the north would help to maintain it. That the Armenoid in the modern Jews may be in a large proportion of cases due to the absorption of Khazar blood in South Russia in the Christian era is no doubt true but, nevertheless, some of this Armenoid infusion may well be very ancient and may go right back to the time when the Hebrews were *Habiru* mercenary soldiers of the Emperors of the Hittites.

The gradual extinction of most of the Nordic strains in Palestine is not to be wondered at. We have seen the same phenomenon occur in Sicily, where Nordic genes from Hellenistic elements may well have been brought to the Island, and a considerable amount of Nordic blood was introduced through the conquest by the Normans, yet today it is difficult to find Nordic types in Sicily except in the higher and remoter villages of the interior. Malaria and other afflictions have fallen, so far as we can judge, much more heavily upon the extraneous type from the north than upon the native bred strain, and it is the latter which has survived with greater ease. There is no doubt the Nordic type would have found the same survival difficulties in Palestine. Nevertheless it was never entirely wiped out. David was ruddy of countenance, if not from his paternal ancestral strain then from his mother's Syrian stock. (It should, however, be realised that the Syrians and the ancient Hebrews were the same stock originally, as we have already indicated).

As is well known the tribes of Israel split into two Kingdoms: the northern one of Samaria, which collapsed in the eighth century B.C. when it was conquered by the Assyrians and large sections of its people (and probably the leaders) were carried away into captivity in the regions of the Upper Tigris, and the southern Kingdom of Judah (consisting of only two of the twelve tribes, those of Judah and Benjamin) which was overthrown in the sixth century.

The transplanting of the Israelites to the Upper Tigris, after the fall of Samaria in 721 B.C., brought them into a region where the racial type was no doubt of much the same complex as their own—with Nordo-Armenoid as the dominant element. This would certainly help to bring about the disappearance of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel—for even at the best the *diaspora* which occurs later, elements of which were settled in the Crimea, is only doubtfully descended from the people of the Northern Kingdom. True to the policy of the Assyrian conquerors intended to destroy the resistance of the conquered peoples, Medians and others—who would be largely of an Armenoid type—were brought in to replace the dispossessed Israelites. These, crossing with the lower class

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elements of Israel (who were probably those people who had largely absorbed Canaanitish—that is, eastern Mediterranean—strains), produced the Samaritans of historical times and of the time of Christ.

Meanwhile the Southern Kingdom of Judah was overthrown in 597 B.C. and the same policy of transplantation was carried out, to Babylonia. The story of Daniel, and some of the books of the Apochrypha, are concerned with these events. Under Cyrus they were allowed, in part at any rate, to return to Judea, and it is from these people that the Jews of today are historically descended, even if all of them are not literally so since there has been proselytisation which, of course, has brought in other elements—although, strange to say, these have mainly been of an Armenoid type, and so have preserved the general type which had evolved by the time of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. But there is little doubt that during the Captivity in Babylon native Canaanitish peoples had settled in Judaea, even if they had not been deliberately planted there by the Babylonian overlords. Thus considerable Armenoid-Mediterranean elements came to be absorbed. Furthermore, by the time of the Maccabees, the Edomites were absorbed—these being an outcaste branch of the ancient Hebrews, according to tradition at any rate, descended from Esau and the non-Hebraic stock into which he had married. Basically, therefore, there have been changes taking place in Jewish ethnology away from the Aryan culture in which the original Patriarchs, or their more immediate forebears, had been nurtured, and the Nordic type from which they had been, in part at any rate, bred. Despite this, the impress of that culture—its strong patriarchalism and patrilineal ideas, and its emphasis upon Jahweh, in the original guise of a Sky-Father and God of Battles—was still maintained, and so were the strict caste concepts against too ready assimilation and intermarriage with aliens—although, as the racial concept of such laws passed out of knowledge, the tendency has since been to marry aliens after proselytisation.

The majority of Jews met with in Europe and America are Ashkenazim, and these are very decidedly Armenoid in appearance. But in the Sephardim—who are unquestionably regarded as the "aristocracy" of Jewry, certainly in their own eyes—of whose descent from the ancient Hebrews there is clearer evidence than in any other case, we find strains which have not merely Mediterranean but also Nordic blood, and it is quite possible that some of these yellow haired and blue eyed Jews may derive at least part of these characters from a very ancient ancestry—from the Patriarchal tribal *Habiru*.

The same Nordic type still survives in parts of Palestine. It is found among the Druses of the Lebanon, where the higher altitude has enabled it to survive, just as the same conditions in

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Sicily have assisted the survival of the same type there. Popular fiction has it that these enclaves in Palestine are due to descent from the Crusaders. This, however, is rather to be put in the same category as the deriving of all dark haired people in Western Ireland and the Western Isles of Scotland from shipwrecked Spaniards of the Armada Fleet! Some of the blood of the Crusaders no doubt has survived, but the location of these enclaves in the northern rather than in the southern parts of Palestine, in regions adjacent to both the ancient Kingdom of Northern Israel and to that of Syria, rather suggests that this Nordic type comes down in part at least from the original thrust of Nordo-Armenoids into Palestine at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. The same type is also to be found further north among the Kurds: it may be noted in this connection that Saladin, the great military commander of the Moslems against the Crusaders, had light Nordic colouring, which was due to his Kurdish ancestry.

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MISUSES OF OVERLAP IN RACIAL COMPARISONS

By HENRY E. GARRETT

One well known method of measuring the difference between two groups is to calculate the extent to which the one group overlaps the other. More precisely, the percentage of the lower scoring group which exceeds the median of the higher scoring group is determined.* The median is used in computing overlap more often than the mean because the median (by definition) divides the distribution into two equal parts. Hence, if 30 per cent of the one group exceeds the median of the other, then the best 30 per cent of the poorer group will score over the range of of the upper 50 per cent of the better group. Overlap, when the median is used, varies from 0 to 50 per cent.

Three degrees of overlap, 0, 25 and 50 per cent, are shown in the accompanying figures. In the last example, the two medians coincide exactly, although the ranges differ. When overlap is 0 per cent, no one in the poorer group exceeds the median of the better group, but a number score over the range of the bottom 50 per cent.

Overlap is often wrongly interpreted by equalitarian writers eager to explain away or belittle any differences between racial groups. Misinterpretations fall into three categories:

1. A common technique is to "play down" overlap. Thus, if Negroes overlap whites on an intelligence test by as much as 20 to 25 per cent it is argued that differences between the two groups must be negligible. A frequent statement has it that "differences *within* each group are far greater than differences *between* the two groups, *i.e.*, between the medians or means." This comment is obviously true, but it may be misleading. The only fair way to compare two groups is in terms of some *typical* measure, *i.e.*, the mean or median. Some women are taller and stronger than the average man, but no one doubts that there is a height and strength advantage in the male. The feeble-minded and insane

* This definition is often written "reaches or exceeds the median of the higher group." But "reaches" is unnecessary and may be erroneous. The median is a *point* (not a score) in the higher distribution, and some percentage of the poorer group exceeds this point, the rest falling behind. If the mid-score is used instead of the median, then it is appropriate to ask what percentage reaches or exceeds the mid-score.

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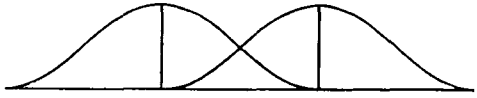
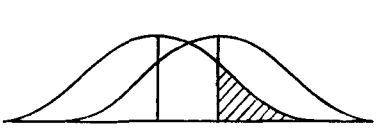
overlap the normal; considerably in many sensory-motor functions, much less in tests requiring abstract ability. But neither the feeble-minded nor the insane are normal. Nor is it true that the *size* of the difference is always of the greatest importance. One chromosome in 46 determines sex, and two recessive genes out of many thousands lead to color-blindness in a male child.

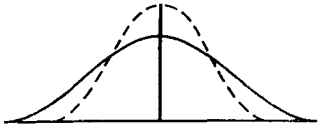
2. Another often found error is to treat those in the top of the lower distribution (the "stand-outs") as though they were typical of the group as a whole. One encounters such expressions, for



ZERO OVERLAP



25% OVERLAP



50% OVERLAP

example, as: "The Negro cannot be mentally inferior to the white man—look at Ralph Bunche (or Thurgood Marshall or some other well known figure)." What is *not* said is that Bunche is certainly not typical of the American Negro and furthermore is virtually a white man. Again, because 103 Negro pupils with I.Q.s above 120 were found in the Chicago schools, we find the statement that "Negro ancestry does not preclude high intelligence." Rarely, if ever, are we told that these gifted children were selected from a sample of more than 8000 Negro school children, and that approximately 80 per cent of the 103 reported more-or-less white ancestry. Nor are we told that in a sample of 8000 white school children at least 800 with I.Q.s of 120 and above can be expected. Negro ancestry does not, to be sure, preclude high intelligence, but it certainly renders it far less probable than does white ancestry.

3. A more subtle error, often arising from ignorance of statistical method, is made when two groups are compared on an intelligence test which correlates highly with educational attainment. A good illustration of this fallacy is found in comparisons of Negro and and white soldiers *by states* in World War I. The correlation of the Army Alpha (a verbal intelligence test) with school grade attained was .70 or higher. Hence the better educated of the Negroes (Negro overlap of white distributions varied from 10 to

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15 per cent) inevitably had higher mean scores on Alpha than the less well educated of the whites. It has been stated *ad nauseam,* by O. Klineberg and A. Montagu especially, that in World War I Negro soldiers from certain northern states had higher mean Alpha scores than white soldiers from certain southern states. Sometimes the statements read that Negroes were "more intelligent" than, or "beat" or "topped" the southern whites. The data were as follows: The four northern states with highest Alpha medians for Negroes were New York (45), Pennsylvania (42), Illinois (47) and Ohio (49). There were only 152 Negroes in the Ohio group. The four southern states with the lowest Alpha medians for whites were Arkansas (42), Mississippi (41), Kentucky (42) and Georgia (42). These differences among medians could have been expected of an intelligence test which correlates as highly with school grade as does Alpha. In 1917-1918, public education in the South had not recovered from the devastating Civil War and was admittedly poorer in quality and quantity than public education in the northern states. Thus it could be argued that poorly educated white soldiers did almost as well as presumably much better educated Negro soldiers.

It may be added that the best Negro group (the 152 soldiers from Ohio) were 10 points above the median for Negro soldiers generally (39) and hence were not typical of their group. But these men fell 10 points below the national average (59) for white soldiers. The Negro groups were quite small and highly selected as large numbers (46 per cent) of the Negroes examined were rejected for military service. The upshot of this is that the Alpha data were not suitable for racial comparisons and even had they supported the equalitarian dogma would have been quite unconvincing.

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Book Reviews

MANKIND EVOLVING: THE EVOLUTION OF THE HUMAN SPECIES

By Theodosius Dobzhansky. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1962. Pp. 381, 11 figures, 27 tables. Price 55s: $7.50.

The need for synthesis in science is adduced to be the motivation for the writing of this comprehensive volume, "to explore the possibilities of understanding mankind as a product of evolution and as an evolving whole." The book is an outgrowth of the Silliman Lectures given at Yale University in 1959 in honor of the centennial commemoration of the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. Dobzhansky, one of our foremost geneticists, ranges widely in his delineation of both the biological and the cultural features of human evolution. His treatment of problems, from race and heredity to ethics, encompasses a vast array of references and evidence from many fields of study. Not only is the selection judicious but the treatment is sober and well reasoned as the author confronts some of the most heated issues in the study of man.

The theme of the book is the continuity of the evolutionary process as it includes living creatures from the simplest morphological structures to the amazing socio-biological organizations of *Homo sapiens*. Dobzhansky warns those who view man as the final end of all biological processes (teleological explanations) to take an evolutionary perspective, to see this process as ongoing. Though man utilises new adaptive techniques through his cultural activities, the traditional genetic processes of mutation—adaptation and selection—still condition the possibilities for cultural change.

Dobzhansky is sensitive to the theoretical problems inherent in postulating a transition from traditional organic biological modes to "cultural" adaptation. His book attempts to bridge these difficulties by concentrating on an explication of the continuities in biological evolution rather than on the paradoxes which one uncovers in reflecting upon the status of cultural phenomena conceived as adaptive techniques open to traditional selective processes. The examination of our contemporary world, while thus having the breadth and perspective to be expected of an evolutionist, is yet reminiscent of the approach of the social Darwinists and the behavioral phychologists of an earlier era.

Dobzhansky, however, is a liberal and a humanitarian as is evidenced by his espousal of a principle of equality of opportunity as providing the best means for "interpersonal variability," a toleration of unconformity, and a recognition for a variety of specialized talents. These are in the interest of the genetic and thus the selective demands for the survival of our species. Yet his scepticism of the possibility of correlating the "wisdom of biology" with an evolutionary ethics, *à la* Keith, at least for the duration of our present paucity of knowledge on the subject, is testimony to his moderation in pursuing his approach to its logical conclusions. In the final analysis it is this commitment to his own specialty which weakens the effectiveness of the book. While following the opinion of many authorities in cultural anthropology and threading his way through the controversies which afflict this discipline and thus make it the exciting field of study which it is, Dobzhansky selects what he considers to be orthodox or even the weight of current opinion, selections obviously colored by the predilections of a geneticist.

The major problem concerning Dobzhansky's genetic point of view is the usefulness of these traditional categories of mutation—adaptation

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and natural selection—for an understanding of cultural evolution as a context within which we see "mankind evolving." One need not disagree with Dobzhansky's insistent dismissal of Leslie White's super-organicist claims for the independence of cultural processes to question the importance of the traditional organic categories as a revealing conceptual tool. Dobzhansky of course recognizes that the change from instinctual organic modes of adaptation to the conventional, learned behavior of man, even as it encompasses such patently survivalistic activities as food gathering, sex, shelter, and familial and other social relations, is overlain by a heavy residue of cultural conventions. This infinite variation within culture makes any attempt to find clear-cut adaptive patterns an inherently chimerical venture. All that one can claim at this stage in our knowledge is that culture is made possible by the morphological structure of the species, especially his genes for brain size and organization. But Dobzhansky must claim more for the adaptive value of culture than that these factors have merely enabled man to bring his young to reproductive maturity with consistent success.

While he eschews any ethical implications in the evolutionary doctrine, he does venture into discussions of the adaptive utility of linguistic communcation—the genetic roots of occupational differences and the adaptive value of play and magic, amongst others. It should be stated that he denies Darlington's extreme hypotheses that particulate occupations such as hill farming have genetic roots or that habitual criminality is a genetic defect. As a geneticist he still seeks a Utopia most likely to "instigate formation of genetic élites." But as a democrat he sees this as occurring in a society within which equality of opportunity exists in more than name only.

Dobzhansky's confidence in the possibility of achieving such a genetic Utopia may some day be fulfilled. At the present it represents no more than a pious faith in a doctrine whose verifiable confines extend little beyond *Drosophila*. One wonders what characteristics now constitute man's real adaptive nature. Certainly they do not lie in the terra firma of organic structures. Indeed the most obvious organic selective facet, man's reproductive success, constitutes his gravest social threat at this moment. To find an answer to this adaptive riddle one must of necessity turn to man's cultural characteristics. But a simplistic grasping of any one factor, whether it is play, militarism or the capacity for scientific or religious creativity is also unsatisfactory. There is no clear evidence that the cultivation of these cultural attributes is an advantage. And we must emphasize that there is no evidence to impute a particular genetic rooting for any of these historically developed characteristics in any one culture, for example, philosophical wisdom in the Greeks.

Then how do we create our genetic Utopia? Perhaps we can choose our current crop of geniuses, both moral and intellectual, and, as Herman Muller has proposed, disseminate their genes into future populations. But we should remember that the same gene pool which produced Beethoven, Goethe, Leibniz, Kant and Helmholtz a few generations later produced Hitler, Himmler, Eichmann and Goebbels. And if we argue that social conditions alone can change the character of men coming from the same genetic stock, then of what value is the theory—even if true? Again, are the qualities of genius of one era similar to those of another era? Would the creative minds of the Middle Ages have come to the fore in the nineteenth or twentieth century? Would a Freud or a Darwin, a Marx or Einstein have been likely to succeed in the twelfth or thirteenth century? Even if we accept the assumptions of this type of genetic theory, *i.e.*, the specificity of the cultural characteristics which the genius transmits, there is no way to predict the type of social needs of the next century and therefore the type of genius we would like to nurture. We may in fact be wasting these potentialities at this very moment

It is when Dobzhansky launches into a discussion of the genetic basis

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of musical ability, the capacity not only to enjoy but to prefer certain types of music above others, that we can best appreciate the ludicrous qualities of this type of biological analysis. The imagination must be stretched to conceive of any possible adaptive value in musical ability which could square with the evolutionary doctrine as now constituted.

The error into which the author has fallen, a common one it should be noted, is in overemphasizing the rôle which natural selection has played in the creation of *Homo sapiens*. We cannot deny that natural selection has been the major force propelling evolution forward. But even Julian Huxley in his major treatise on evolution has allowed for non-selective processes within the interstices of the evolutionary framework. Might it be that man's lack of specific adaptive biological behavior is a product of a non-selective, perhaps orthogenetic, trend within the *Hominidae*? H. R. Wallace once observed that it seemed odd that the selective processes would lead to the production of a creature with the brain capacity of 1450-1600 c.c. when a brain of 600-900 c.c. would have served just as adequately.

This overdependence on a quasi-deductive use of the selectionist model to the general disregard of the facts of cultural life results in a stimulating but hardly rigorous enquiry into the maze of cultural evolution. This quality of "romance" in Dobzhansky's treatment of human evolution is emphasized in a postulation following Chardin, that, although man may not be the center of the physical universe as the Aristotelians had thought, man may be its spiritual center. As such, evolution "may conceivably be controlled by man in accordance with his wisdom and values." One hesitates to add even a final *caveat* to what is a broadly conceived, stimulating and erudite work. However, can this spiritual centrality of man postulated by the author be more than a creation of his own imagination carrying little more metaphysical importance than that of a poetic vision? Finally, and more important, can this hoped-for control over man's evolutionary destiny be at most a trivial control (even if important for ourselves) over some of the cultural qualities of our lives? Certainly, as an evolutionist, Dobzhansky must subscribe to a view that we are the product of the evolutionary fires of our universe. We cannot hope to control evolution, inorganic, organic or cultural. Rather, should we not attempt to teach ourselves to conform to the inexorable forces and processes of time?

SEYMOUR ITZKOFF.

MAOLA: CULTURE AND NATURE ON A FIJIAN ISLAND

By Marshall D. Sahlins. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1962. Pp. 453, 5 plates, 6 maps, 4 diagrams. Price $12.50.

Dr Sahlins spent nearly a year on the island of Moala in the Fiji Islands in order to study the way of life of the Moalans. What was quite evidently an intensive field study has led him to present what he claims is a new method—in some respects indeed it is—of investigating primitive groups. In so far as the author insists that each cultural trait forms an organic whole with all the others, his emphasis is welcome. Far too frequently each factor such as kinship, organisation, economics and so on is studied without any real reference to the others.

The author considers that the culture which he studied is evolving all the time, adapting itself in order to ensure the survival of the organisation of the people. In particular he shows that the whole of this organisation, including the economy and government of the island, is dependent basically upon the structure of the kinship relations of the people. In this respect he suggests, quite rightly, that this shows the very great difference between modern and primitive civilisation.

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Obviously the book is of fundamental value in Fijian studies. It is, however, rather a pity that a more detailed account of the physical types of the people themselves was not given. All social organisation exists in relation to geography or environment on the one hand and to heredity on the other, and unless these are known and described it is not easy to assess completely the culture under consideration. But this is a major failing in most social anthropological and sociological works today—and, in so far as it is, they are the weaker and, regrettably, the less likely to be absolutely accurate in many points of interpretation.

ORANG-UTAN

By Barbara Harrisson. Collins, London, 1962. Pp. 224, coloured frontispiece, 28 half-tone illustrations. Price 25s.

This excellent book on the orang-utans of Borneo indicates how close they are, in so many respects, to human beings. For this reason it must interest not only zoologists but anthropologists as well. The book raises a moral issue: it is obviously quite indefensible to treat the orang-utan or, for that matter, any of the apes in the way they have been treated in the past—by hunting them down, and by keeping them in the type of captivity which has been so common in so many zoos. Mrs Harrisson draws attention to the fact that Edinburgh zoo is one of the few which has conditions suitable for the orang-utan. It is a pity, however, that she finds it necessary to list Edinburgh under England in Appendix IV! This enthralling account of a species which is sadly near to extinction is illustrated with many fascinating pictures taken by the author.

HIMALAYA: Mountains of Destiny

By Walter Leifer. Translated from the German by Ursula Prideaux. Galley Press, London, 1962. Pp. 176, 15 plates. Price 25s.

This is a geopolitical study of the 1200 million people who live in the regions adjoining the Himalayas—the greatest natural frontier in the world —and it is of particular interest at the present time in view of the conflict between India and China.

The author describes the mythology of the Himalayan region—for these mountains have always been sacred to the people living north and south of them, for whom they have been and still are the abodes of the gods. He goes on to study the historical facts of the conquests which have flowed across the mountains. Moving south he deals with Assam, its mountain tribes, and the impact of oil production on them. He discusses Pakistan's aspirations in the region, the question of Kashmir, and Afghanistan, which he sees as a Switzerland in Asia. He then mentions the regions further north, such as Turkestan with its industrialisation, and finally he considers the Sino-Indian problem.

The primitive religion which is particularly associated with the Mongoloid races is shamanism in one form or another. It is therefore not surprising to find that this existed among the Tibetans before the advent of the Buddhist missionaries in the ninth century A.D. What is of interest is the way that Tibetan Buddhism has been transformed to have such a great emphasis on demons and other motifs which are particularly derived from that original shamanism. This would appear to indicate, as we have seen so frequently in other instances, that the type of religion which is likely to emerge anywhere will be transformed in accordance with the temperament which is associated with the racial matrix concerned, all other things being equal.

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After discussing the complexity of peoples in the Himalayas, from the original Mongoloids to the later Indo-Aryans, the author says (p. 53), speaking of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim in particular, that the problems of the primitive Himalayan populations can only be solved by means of good anthropological work. "From this point one can then advance into all the other historical, ethnographical and philosophical fields, as well as those concerning the history of religion and the psychology of race, so as to work out the future treatment of these races." This is one of the sanest things written recently on this problem, especially as it shows an awareness of the differences of race in the field of psychology; and it indicates the generally balanced attitude of this author to his subject. This entrancingly written book is to be recommended to all who wish to be enlightened on the crucial problems of the great geographical and ethnological frontier which divides the Mongoloid world from the Indo-Aryan and Moslem world lying to its south.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF EASTER ISLAND

By Thor Heyerdahl and Edwin N. Ferdon, Jr., Editors, and William Mulloy, Arne Skjölsvold and Carlyle S. Smith. *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific: Volume I. Monographs of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico*, Number 24, Part I. George Allen and Unwin, London, 1961. Pp. 559, 138 figures, 96 plates. Price £11 11s.

This magnificently produced book tells the story of a private enterprise organised and financed by Thor Heyerdahl for the purpose of bringing professional archaeologists to the eastern Pacific where modern methods of stratigraphy had not formerly been employed—that alone was a very laudable achievement.

The expedition used a Greenland trawler of under 50 metres with a dead weight of 450 tons for the voyage. In addition to visiting Easter Island, which was the main centre for their work, their voyage included visits to the Galapagos Islands, Tahiti, and the Marquesas Islands.

It was usual to assume that Easter Island was settled by Polynesians from the west, and this settlement was thought to have occurred at some time during the middle of our era, although a wide variety of dates had been suggested since research workers had used different methods to compute the genealogies on which their theories were based. Thor Heyerdahl, however, was working on a different presumption. Even before he started the work which is recounted in this book, he held that this settlement came from the east and that it predated that of the Polynesians from the west. He believed that this first settlement from the east occurred about the fifth century A.D. (p. 494). There was thus a difference of up to 1000 years between Heyerdahl's dating and some of the dates suggested by other Polynesianists.

Carbon tests, however, certainly disprove the theory of a settlement from the west at so late a period as the sixteenth century A.D., for they demonstrate that Easter Island was already inhabited somewhere around the fourth century A.D. Actually this need not be a surprise to anyone, since it seems quite fantastic to think that such a number of great monoliths could have been carved and erected in so short a time as that which elapsed in the century or two before the arrival of the Europeans. Furthermore, as Heyerdahl points out, there is evidence that in the fourth century A.D. the inhabitants were engaged upon the task of building a defensive structure of some considerable magnitude—the Poike ditch. This presupposes that they were something more than a newly immigrant group by that time.

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As is well known Heyerdahl has stood out for a pre-Polynesian settlement of Easter Island from the Andean region of South America. He has pointed to long-skulled peoples with wavy red hair in that region, and to the re-occurrence of these characters in the statuary of Easter Island before the arrival of the later Polynesians. Furthermore, it is now established on the best evidence of Shapiro and others who have examined the problem that the views of earlier writers such as Balfour and Haddon who looked to a Melanesian sub-stratum have nothing to recommend them in the actual physical features of the inhabitants.

C. S. Smith establishes evidence (pp. 218-9) that the archaeological stratification is three-fold. The earliest period showed an awareness of solar orientation (p. 497) and this suggests an Andean connection, not a Polynesian one. After this early period there was a distinct break in the continued history of the island. This appears to have lasted for some time; after that a new cultural impulse appears to have developed which may have been due to the arrival of another people. It is suggested that it is possible that these two populations survived together for some time until the later one destroyed the former, after which there came about the last phase, a decadent one, which immediately preceded the historical discovery of Easter Island by Europeans.

The evidence shows that the finest and most highly specialised of the megalithic monuments of Easter Island belong to the earliest phase—and features of the masonry suggest a South American origin (p. 502).

The evidence provided by the origins of some of the flora of Easter Island cannot be brushed aside (pp. 519 ff.), and the impression is left that it will be very difficult to overthrow the view that an early element of the Easter Island culture, and the people who bore it, was derived from South America. The spread of the word *kumara*—in its various forms—for the sweet potato, is highly significant. This word is Quechuan from South America; it appears in this form in Easter Island, and in other parts of the Pacific it appears in variants all derived from the same original form. Indeed this is not the only plant name common to Easter Island and South America.

The characteristics of the type of man portrayed by the megaliths of Easter Island suggest men with well marked noses and red hair. By all estimates it seems they represent the type which it is postulated came from the east—from South America. Certainly it is neither a Polynesian nor a Melanesian type. The former would provide some kind of dark Alpine (like the Maori) and the latter a mixed type which may vary from a Mongolo-Negro cross to the Negroid or Australoid type. On the other hand there has never been a red haired race anywhere—and the Amerindians are not red haired, although they have large noses, at least in all the branches where we may postulate some degree or another of Caucasoid blood.

The most red haired people include the Scoto-Irish, and they derive this character largely from the Atlantic substratum in their ethnology. The Atlantics, so we believe, were among the most adventurous voyagers the ancient world could have seen. Thus (starting from a Cro-Magnon origin somewhere in south-western Europe, and belonging to a racial distribution which spread from the Hamitic speaking world of northern Africa) they became distributed up the west coast of Europe to Britanny, Ireland and Scotland, and ultimately they reached Dalarna in Sweden and Westphalia in Germany, where traces of the racial strain can still be found. They are to be associated with the spread of megalithic culture. All this was accomplished by the beginning of the second millenium B.C. or thereabouts—and it witnesses to their considerable boat-building and navigational abilities. The same strain has also been traced westwards to the Canaries. Thus it is highly probable that some of the Caucasoid type found in the Amerindians is not only attributable to Arctic Chancelade types from

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Europe at the end of the Ice Age and to later Nordic settlements by the north Atlantic route; it may be due to Atlantic folk crossing the Atlantic by a southern route. In that case the settlement of such people in South America is not so far-fetched an idea as it might seem at first. Such contact, even if it were only sporadic, would account for some features which the civilisations of Central and South America have in common with those of northern Africa. It would also account for the traditions about whites which come up in the course of studying the folklore of the civilisations which the Spaniards overthrew. Such a maritime folk could be expected to venture further when the opportunity presented itself.

The Mongoloids and Amerinds have not usually shown considerable voyaging capacity as compared with the Caucasoids (even the Polynesian spread must be considered more Caucasoid than anything else). So a Caucasoid element in central or northern South America would more readily explain such adventurous voyaging so far to the west as Easter Island. If this element was Atlantic then it would have a high incidence of red hair among its people, and so this colour would become fixed both in the minds of the people themselves as well as of those who observed them as characteristic of them. This would lead them to colour their statues accordingly.

All this is highly speculative—but then so is the whole subject. But such speculation is consistent with the broad trends of the movements which were undoubtedly occurring at an early period, and it cannot be dismissed without further investigation.

The editors of this book and the other workers who have contributed to it are to be congratulated on the accomplishment of an important piece of research which marks one step further in solving the riddle of Easter Island.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Compiled and edited by Eric Rosenthal. Frederick Warne, London and New York, 1961. Pp. 600, 10 colour plates, 18 maps, many line drawings in text. Price 42s.

Mr Eric Rosenthal, a lawyer by training and now a journalist, broadcaster and author of numerous books, has done a fine job in the production of this encyclopaedia which is an indispensable work for all interested in the sub-continent or who are likely to visit it.

Among the main articles there are many of human interest, including: "Afrikaans—its Origin and Development," by J. Smuts; "Archaeology of Southern Africa," by Professor A. J. H. Goodwin; "Bantu Languages of Southern Africa," by A. C. Jordan, and "Bantu Peoples of Southern Africa," by Professor D. T. Cole.

Besides these major articles, however, the minor ones too are often enough the source of most interesting information. For instance, under "Tuberculosis" we learn that the South African climate is very good for sufferers from this disease, and that among Europeans the rate, comparable with the best in other countries, is 15 per 100,000 of the population. But among the Cape Coloured (who are of mixed White and Black descent) it is as high as 319 per 100,000. The surprising thing is not that considerably greater numbers of this latter community are sufferers from this disease, as compared with Europeans, but that the incidence of tuberculosis is greater, or is believed to be greater, among them than among the Negroes themselves. An explanation is, therefore, required as to why the hybrids should have this greater incidence than that of the pure stocks from which they come.

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Under "Berg Damaras" we find that this tribe living in South-West Africa speak a language which contains words that are found in the Sudan. They differ from their neighbours by being darker in colour—which would also seem to support a more northerly origin. Under the heading "Herero," on the other hand, we find a description of a tall, dignified and light-coloured tribe of cattle breeders, who are also believed to have emigrated from the north, probably from North Africa.

THE SOUTHERN CASE FOR SCHOOL SEGREGATION

By James J. Kilpatrick. The Crowell-Collier Press, New York, 1962. Pp. 220. $3.95.

The author of this book is a well known Southern editor who has distinguished himself for hard-hitting and scholarly comments on the contemporary scene. His book is written in the form of a legal brief addressed to the court, in this case the Court of Public Opinion. There are three sections: Part I, "The Evidence," Part II, "The Law," and Part III, "Prayer of the Petitioner." There is also an Appendix containing the Supreme Court decisions on desegregation in 1954, and a biographical note listing some of the reference books which the author found helpful. Straightforward and succinct, the book is a potent argument for school segregation in the American South; but it also contains enough whimsy and anecdotal material to make it delightful reading.

In Part I, Kilpatrick cites the overwhelming statistical evidence for Negro inferiority on mental and educational tests in the U.S.A., especially on those verbal or linguistic tests which demand generalization, inference and reasoning. All of these data may be found elsewhere, of course, but less forcefully presented. Kilpatrick refutes the "equality of opportunity" cliché and other fallacies constantly reiterated by apologists for the Negro. He shows, for example, that the Negro lags just as far behind the White when environment is equalized as he does when random samples of Negroes and Whites are compared. He explodes again the statement that Northern Negroes proved to be more intelligent than Southern Whites on the Army Tests given in the U.S. in World War I. (How many times will *this* one have to be scotched?)

Kilpatrick stays away from comparisons of brain development and from genetics, wisely I think, as he is no scientist and does not pretend to be one. Rather he bases his arguments for separate schools on objective and factual data, here-and-now differences which will appeal to the general reader. A few samples of his evidence may be cited. *Crime*: A comparison of Negro-White crime rates shows that in 1960, in 2446 major cities in the U.S.A. having nearly 75,000,000 population, the Negroes account for more than 50% of the crimes of murder, robbery, rape, prostitution and weapon carrying. Negroes constitute about 10% of the American population, but make up 54% of those executed for crime. *Illegitimacy*: The illegitimacy rate among Negroes is literally scandalous. In 1957, nearly 19% of births in Washington, D.C., were illegitimate, 6% being White and 26.5% Negro. (Washington was selected, it may be recalled, to be the show place of integration). Schools in Washington are now 80% Negro and are rapidly becoming "re-segregated." So bad are crime conditions in the city that several Congressmen have urged that military patrols be put on the streets after dark.

In Part II, "The Law," Kilpatrick has written what in the reviewer's opinion is a masterly piece of argument for due process in law and restraint by the courts. Step by step, he traces events which led up to the fateful school desegregation decision of 1954. It is incredible that any court

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could have brought in such a decision in the light of evidence which had accumulated over 60 years.

This book should be required reading for every young American lawyer and law student. For it is they who in the future must restore the Federal judiciary to its rightful place. Kilpatrick's book reveals a trend in American jurisprudence which unless checked will strike the death knell of constitutional government in this country.

HENRY E. GARRETT.

THE RUNES OF SWEDEN

By Sven B. F. Jansson. Translated from the Swedish by Peter G. Foote. Phoenix House, London, 1962. Pp. 168, 74 plates. Price 25s.

This book gives a survey of Swedish runic inscriptions dating from some centuries after the birth of Christ down to relatively recent times. The book also discusses the Runes in relation to Viking raids, trade and the farming communities of Scandinavia, with some reference to the growth of Christianity.

The word itself, *rune,* is from the Gothic *runa,* and has reference to the fact that the script used was an ancient, that is secret, script so far as the later Christian Scandinavians was concerned. It is suggested that the runes were derived from a North Etruscan alphabet and originated in the second or first century B.C. This would reflect the trade which formally existed between the Baltic and the Mediterranean, as has been indicated by the amber trade routes.

The beautiful illustrations of this highly readable book contribute to its entrancing appeal to everyone interested in Scandinavian and northern European ethnology.

THE KAMA SUTRA OF VATSYAYANA

Translated by Sir Richard Burton and F. F. Arbuthnot, edited with a Preface by W. G. Archer, and with an Introduction by K. M. Panikkar. George Allen and Unwin, London, 1963. Pp. 296. Price 42s.

This is the translation of a famous Sanskrit work of about the third century A.D. on the art and science of love. It has considerable value from the anthropological point of view since it deals with social customs in India nearly two thousand years ago. For instance, it is clear how close in some respects Indian social life, particularly with regard to the educated courtesan class, came to that of ancient Greece. Of perhaps greater interest to the anthropologist are references to certain customs in connection with sex relations in this or that part of India at the period of the author's life or immediately preceding it. Historical works are not normally concerned with such matters, and so it is rare to get glimpses and insights of this kind except perhaps in the few great classical works of this nature—of which the *Kama Sutra* is one of the most famous.

The English text of this work is that of Richard Burton which was first printed in London in 1883. In a Preface Mr W. G. Archer, Keeper Emeritus of the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, deals with the background to the translation itself, and with its position in occidental appreciations of Indian culture. The part played by his friend F. F. Arbuthnot is also discussed here.

Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Vice-Chancellor of Kashmir University, in his Introduction gives an account of the value set upon the *Kama Sutra* in India. He goes on to point out that in Indian philosophy and theology there is the concept that Dharma (religious duty), Artha (worldly welfare)

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and Kama (the life of the senses), all form a whole, and as a consequence the need for each exists in a completely developed individual. Therefore it was not blasphemous to the Indian mind for Vatsyayana to claim that the *Kama Sutra* "was composed, according to precepts of Holy Writ, for the benefit of the world, by Vatsyayana, while leading the life of a religious student, and wholly engaged in the contemplation of the Deity." As Panikkar says (p. 45): "The Hindu view of sex differs fundamentally from that of most other civilisations. It is not only considered normal and necessary but also sacramental. It is conceived as the human counterpart of creation and the religious symbolism of the Hindus emphasises this at all levels. It is the union of Purusha (or matter) with Prakriti (or energy) symbolised as the union of Shiva and Shakti, that is said to create the world. The symbol of Shiva is the lingam or phallus, the symbol of Shakti is the yoni. It is for this reason that every aspect of godhead in Hinduism is represented with a female counterpart." Panikkar goes on to say that this should not be considered a degenerate or late development in Hinduism, and quotes the Rig Veda's Hymn of Creation to support this view. He is, of course, correct. But, on the other hand, there is every reason to believe that Shiva may well have been derived from the Indus valley civilisations, and not (in all his present forms) from the earlier Aryan civilisation. In our view the development of tantric religion, with its worship of the Mother Goddess, shows a change of emphasis from the more austere form of the original Aryan religion—which, like the society, was paternal and was what might, for the sake of simplification, be termed monotheism—to one in which elements of the indigenous religions of the Indus valley civilisations, founded no doubt by Mediterrano-Armenoids, and of the aboriginals, of Australoid-Negroid provenance—which were associated with maternal systems of society—came to be increasingly prominent.

As the work of Vatsyayana is based on that of earlier writers it incorporates lore of a period well antecedent to the third century A.D. The *Kama Sutra* is all the more valuable because the works of these earlier writers are now lost. Vatsyayana attempts to deal with sex relations as a science. He also sets out the educational programme which should be mastered by women—a programme which, if it could be completed, would have produced paragons of knowledge. However, the emphasis on female education is interesting, since it indicates that at an early period the Indians had admitted the desirability of an educated womanhood—educated, that is, by the standards and ideas of the society in which they lived at that time.

Another factor of importance is that the writer is concerned with the woman's place in sexual relationships, and in this respect the *Kama Sutra* advocates an educated womanhood. All this is related to the general trend of the whole Aryan-Mediterranean group of cultures or societies—in other words to the developments of the Caucasoid races. The fact that the Hindus, particularly the earlier ones, were and still are part of the Caucasoid stock is often forgotten. To think in terms of occident and orient when considering India is in many respects quite wrong. The Aryan civilisation which was established in India, and the preceding Indus valley civilisation which it absorbed, were part of the contribution of the Caucasoid racial stock to civilisation. These factors are of more importance than the absorptions from alien civilisations which have penetrated into Hinduism and Indian life.

Thus, the assertion that the concept of romantic love is peculiarly European needs to be modified—it is Caucasoid. We find the beginnings of it in the *Kama Sutra,* as well as in the works of Ovid, Apuleius and others, although it required the troubadours to bring it to the state of development which we find now in European concepts, and which is expressed in our literature. The concern found in *Kama Sutra* for the woman's position with regard to her rôle in love, which is the root from which romantic conceptions of love have evolved, was not, for instance,

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to be found normally in African society before the impact upon it of the Europeans—and even now it is not generally normal there. Sardar Panikkar's Introduction, which has called for these comments, is a valuable addition to the book.

Naturally, in places in the *Kama Sutra* a morality is expressed which is not ours, and cannot be ours, because it belongs to a time past—a time of slaves and eunuchs, and a polygamous society. It is therefore not necessarily a guide to modern conduct. On the other hand, it serves as a guide to an understanding of the thought of a society which had points of contact with the evolution of European culture.

Even at this early date, here and there we find the emergence of man's dilemma of whether to attribute certain tendencies in sexual relations to heredity or to environment. For instance, the author points out that particular parts of India are addicted to this custom or vice, and others to that. In such matters, no doubt, a cultural impact can have great influence—but this does not entirely wipe out what may be inborn preferences for particular habits which conform more readily to the accumulated trends of thousands of years of evolution in a certain group.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE.

MATRILINEAL KINSHIP

Edited by David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles: Cambridge University Press, London, 1961. Pp. 761. Price 94s: $11.75.

The theme of the book is that in kinship is the basis of the structure of practically all societies. It discusses only that form of kinship and the society which it creates which is based upon the descent and relationship through the females of any given people.

Matrilineal Kinship deals with its subject in a threefold manner, analysing particular matrilineal societies, investigating their cultural ecology, and finally discussing the implications of matrilineal descent in the development of systems based upon kinship.

The examples are drawn from such peoples as the Plateau Tonga, Navaho, Trobriand Islanders, Ashanti, Tiyyar, Mappilla, and the Nayar of both North and Central Kerala. Besides chapters written by the editors, there are contributions from Elizabeth Colson, David F. Aberle, George H. Fathauer and Harry W. Basehart.

The treatment of the themes of this work is very thorough. The accounts of the Nayars of Kerala by Kathleen Gough may be particularly cited as they give a very clear and satisfying account of the state of the castes and peoples in Kerala and of the Nayars in particular. In view of the fact that there are, strictly speaking, only four castes, it should be borne in mind that most writers who refer to numerous estates are, in fact, really referring to various kinds of major sub-castes. Again, to use the term "aristocratic" for the people who really belong to the four historic castes—no matter how many caste divisions may be popularly accepted and detailed—is a trifle misleading as the term "aristocratic" infers some form of nobility, which hardly arises in most Indian societies outside of the actual ruling families. The equation is more with the free classes of European civilisations—who held by free or military tenure under feudalism—than with the noble or aristocratic classes of western society.

Below these free classes (called "aristocratic" in this book) which are to be equated with the four major caste divisions (headed by intrusive Brahmans with patrilineal descent, and followed by the royal and princely matrinlineal families who are regarded as the equivalent of the Soldier Caste elsewhere in Hindu society) come the untouchables whose presence

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pollutes the higher castes. It is true these are divided into what we have learnt to call castes—which are so described in this book—but, in fact, they are really outside the traditional and historic four-caste system of the descendants of the Aryan Hindu conquerors of India.

However this may be, the book treats well this subject of caste in India, as well as matrilineal kinship both in Kerala and elsewhere in the world, and it is a useful addition to the literature in this field.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE.

ANTHROPOLOGIE

By Gerhard Heberer, Gottfried Kurth and Ilse Schwidetzky. Fischer Bucherei, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1959. Pp. 362. Price DM 3.30.

This is the second book which properly synthesizes the old and the new in anthropological science. Unfortunately, the work is arranged (at the desire of the publisher) as a lexicon. Thus, the number of chapters is limited to 21, so that several of the articles could be enlarged to small treatises. For example, the section on racial history comprises 95 pages. Professor Schwidetzky is a leading German anthropologist and Professor of Anthropology at Mainz University; Professor Gerhard Heberer is a world renowned authority on evolution and palaeoanthropology, and Professor Gottfried Kurth, his foremost student, took part in Dorothy Kenyon's excavations in Jericho (Palestine). Dr Heberer wrote the chapters on "The Origin of Man," "Anthropology," "History of Anthropology," "Anthropological Methods," "Palaeoanthropology," "Population Genetics" and "Primate Systematics;" Dr Kurth covered "The Concept of Race," "The Processes of Race Formation," "Racial History" and "Racial Systematics," and Dr Schwidetzky wrote the sections on "Demography," "Human Genetics," "Constitutional Anthropology," "Cultural Anthropology," "Racial Physiology," "Social Anthropology," "Forensic Anthropology" and "Human Growth."

This work can be considered to be as complete as it is modern. In short, it is an exceedingly reliable encyclopedia covering all areas of anthropological science. The book is well organized, with a clear and pleasing linguistic style. The maps are excellent and the pictorial material is abundant—in all there are some 150 illustrations. The bibliography and list of references is as superb as the rest of the book.

BERTIL LUNDMAN.

MARRIAGE: AN EXAMINATION OF THE MAN-WOMAN RELATIONSHIP

By H. R. Lantz and E. C. Snyder. John Wiley & Sons, London and New York, 1962. Pp. 417, 12 figures, 19 tables, 19 plates. Price 49s.

The theme of this stimulating book, written by Professor Herman R. Lantz, Professor of Sociology at Southern Illinois University, and Eloise C. Snyder, Assistant Professor of Sociology at the same university, is not directly associated with anthropology; it represents a sociological approach to marriage as it is today in America. However, it contains some points of more general and anthropological interest.

The authors deal with assortative mating studies. Long ago it was shown that like tended to mate with like, and the common idea that opposites mated, and mated more successfully, was shown to be untrue. Nevertheless, this idea simply will not lie down, and it is constantly repeated. Latterly there have been sneering attempts to discredit assortative mating —no doubt because of the much wider racial implications which are

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involved. The authors show a proper scientific objectivity when they write, on page 151: "For the most part research findings tend to support the homogamous hypothesis in that it appears that like tends to marry like. This is particularly true of such items as race, religion, I.Q., ethnic origin, place of residence before marriage, marital status before marriage, socio-economic status, social class, occupation, height, age, attitudes, and interests." Some of these characters may themselves be racial—such as height and perhaps I.Q. in certain situations.

Lantz and Snyder draw attention (p. 152) to the fact that "persons with similar backgrounds tend to get along well together since they possess a common basis of experiences. Such experiences enable them to share sentiments and values and to communicate in ways which have meaning to them."

When commenting on the question of success in marriage the authors write (pp. 156-7): "The findings with respect to cultural background as revealed by research on marriage prediction indicate that likenesses in cultural background, as exemplified by similar nationality, ethnicity, race, and socio-economic status, are related to success in marriage and dissimilarity with respect to these areas, particularly if it is sufficiently great, is associated with failure in marraige." Such likenesses in cultural background are directly connected with heredity, whether of an ethnological character or due to the segregation which is occurring all the time in the formation of classes in older and more stable societies.

The authors have something to say on the question of ethnology in relation to divorce. For instance, they point out (p. 323) that the divorce rate is higher among Negroes than among whites in America from the same community background although, in fact, the proportion of divorced persons among Negroes generally is small. This apparent contradiction is explained by the fact that the Negroes live predominantly in rural districts where, of course, divorce rates are much lower than in the towns. Furthermore, since many Negro marriages are common law contracts, they can be terminated without formal divorce. "Consequently, marital disorganization among the negroes may be even higher than would be apparent in the divorce statistics."

Thus it seems that the apparent stability of Negro marriages is due solely to the fact that the form of marriage often adopted by them, particularly in the lower classes, does not need divorce proceedings to dissolve it, and that when Negroes and Whites live side by side in the same region the divorce rate of the Negroes is the higher. This, in fact, is consistent with what is generally found in connection with the Negroes in many parts of the world. Their marriage unions do not seem to rest on so secure a basis as those of the Europeans.

ISHI IN TWO WORLDS: A BIOGRAPHY OF THE LAST WILD INDIAN IN NORTH AMERICA

By Theodora Kroeber, with a Foreword by Lewis Gannett. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961. Pp. 258, 62 photographs. Price $5.95.

This is an absorbing book, a great credit to the author and her late husband. To the ethnologist it opens up all manner of speculations. Given the fact that the Amerinds can be broadly classified as of the Mongoloid stock this is not the whole story. The reviewer elsewhere has suggested that Caucasoid blood entered America first from the Chancelade Eskimoids and later from Nordo-Atlantic Celts and finally from Nordic Scandinavians. In the West, where Ishi's folk lived, were Australoid elements. Ishi, this last of the southern Yana Indians of California, apparently had the

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Mongoloid folds and the broad cheek bones of the Amerind, judging by the photographs in the book. However, he shows other casts of countenance which suggest Caucasoid or Australoid affiliations, such as the deep sunken eyes, the form of nose and the over-all length of the face. Of course, the long, almost "Jewish" type of nose occurs frequently among many of the Amerinds and, especially, among the Red Indians of North America. It may be that this is a local evolution within the Mongolo-Amerind stock. On the other hand we are inclined to think it is Caucasoid in origin (just as we think it is, also, in the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills of Southern India) and that it is derived from the first crossings which occurred when Mongolo-Amerinds were entering America from across the Bering Straits to meet Eskimoids of Chancelade affiliation who had migrated along the ice face from Europe to Iceland, Greenland and Newfoundland. It is, therefore, not suhprising to learn that Ishi, who from an anthroposcopical point of view would appear to be an Amerind with some Caucasoid blood, is described by the authoress as lighter skinned than most Indians (p. 4).

This book is not in any way polemical on the question of the extermination of the native Indian Tribes. But as it gives a factual account, it cannot avoid providing a terrible indictment which is far more adverse to the English-speaking "invaders" of these territories than to their Spanish and Mexican predecessors. Probably the reason for this ruthless destruction was to be found in the fact that the Whites concerned were of low-class and of low moral standards; often they were near criminals, if not criminals. Wholesale destruction of the indigenous inhabitants is one sovereign cure of subsequent racial problems. Had this occurred in Africa there would be no occasion for those who live in regions which enjoy freedom from racial problems (because their predecessors made such a clean sweep) to offer advice so freely on how Whites in vastly different situations (with very different traditions of the treatment of "native" populations) should comport themselves and solve the problems of multi-racial societies. The very people who perpetrated these atrocious crimes against the real owners of California belonged to the Northern and not to the Southern (Confederal) tradition and background. It was they who hunted down and exterminated these Indians at sight, men, women and children: not Spaniards, Mexicans or slave owners from the South, and they did it simply because they wanted the Indians' lands. One wonders what their descendants (who are so often denunciatory of the Whites who live in equatorial lands) would do if the Negro really threatened them economically in their own environments.

Certainly a consideration of the treatment of the American Indians down to the beginning of this century, and the continued treatment of them in the frontier mythology in novels and on the screen as evil Indian scourges, makes the "liberal" North's solicitude for the Negroes a sickening hypocrisy.

Theodora Kroeber has written a quite brilliant book which deserves the greatest success—interpreting as it does not merely the last stand in the history of a small Indian tribe but also the story of Ishi, the last of them to survive the rifle bullet and the starvation enforced upon them by the consequent disruption of his own and his peoples' way of life.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE.

THE PROCESSES OF ONGOING HUMAN EVOLUTION

Edited by Gabriel W. Lasker. Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1960. Pp. 108, 9 figures, 12 tables. Price $3.75.

This is a collection of six essays presented as lectures in a symposium at the 59th annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association held at Mexico City on 28th December 1959 to mark the close of the Darwin centennial year.

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The basic themes of the book are that natural selection occurs at the subspecies level as well as the species level, that it embraces general principles which have predictive value, and that man is probably the most interesting study of evolutionary development. The essays therefore seek to study the continuation of the evolution of man, generation by generation, as it can be ascertained today.

Paul Baker, of The Pennsylvania State University, in an essay entitled "Climate, Culture, and Evolution," considers climate and culture as they affect genetic selection; Frank B. Livingstone, of the University of Michigan, in "Natural Selection, Disease, and Ongoing Human Evolution, as Illustrated by the ABO Blood Groups," deals with predisposition to certain diseases among particular racial entities and the relationship of this predisposition to the ABO blood groups; Arno G. Motulsky, of the University of Arizona, in "Metabolic Polymorphisms and the Role of Infectious Diseases in Human Evolution," discusses epidemiology and genetic factors favouring resistance to disease; Frederick S. Hulse, of the University of Washington, Seattle, in "Adaptation, Selection, and Plasticity in Ongoing Human Evolution," deals with the value in human evolution of the ability to adapt to varying conditions, and he suggests that in a diverse environment, such as we have today, the less specialised characters are likely to be favoured by natural selection; Gabriel W. Lasker, of Wayne State University, in "Migration, Isolation and Ongoing Human Evolution," argues that there is sufficient interbreeding between nearby races to ensure that any beneficial mutant, wherever it originated, can be obtained by any stock; and in "Irradiation and Human Evolution," Earle L. Reynolds, an anthropologist who was formerly with the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, makes an analysis of the genetic danger of the atomic age to man.

While not everyone will agree with all the arguments and claims of these essays, they are stimulating, interesting, and well worthy of consideration.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

By R. S. Thoman. McGraw-Hill, New York, Toronto and London, 1962. Pp. 602, many photographs, maps, diagrams and tables in text. Price 69s 6d.

This introduction to economic geography is written chiefly for the student who has had no regular and recent training in geography. A well balanced and stimulating book, it is designed to give an objective appreciation of economic geography and the complex problems associated with it in such a way that the hiatus in his background is overcome. The author sets out to reflect newer methods in presenting economic geography, and in Parts I and III gives selected types of economic activity, as well as human and natural features associated with them, on a world basis; he also considers national, regional and local patterns. Part II deals with the natural environment, such as landforms, mineral resources, climate, water and air, and biotic and soil resources. In Part IV he gives a separate discussion on energy. Part V deals with single commodities "as instruments with which to probe deeper into the book's central theme that man, viewing the world through the eyeglasses of his own culture, picks and chooses from a varied natural endowment to satisfy his endless economic needs and wants."

The author points out (p. 11) that nearly 3000 million human beings now live on the earth. Fifty years ago there were 1571 million, and a hundred years ago 1091 million. But, and here is the horror of it, by the year 2000 it may well be that we shall have 6000 million or even more struggling

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for existence on an earth which has not been able to inflate its area step by step with the population growth!

Over four-fifths of the world's residents are in the eastern hemisphere: and more than five-sixths live north of the equator. Two-fifths of the world population are crowded into India and Communist China alone.

On the question of the increase of population the author states (p. 21) that the momentum of population increase starts almost imperceptibly, intensifies slowly over a long period of time, and finally bursts into fruition all at once. That we are now at bursting point, and that the population explosion has not been over-dramatised, he makes quite clear.

R. S. Thoman deals with the Malthusian thesis and points out that basically it stated that populations tend to increase faster than the means to support them if they are not held in preventative check by war, vice and so on—or preferably by moral restraint. If these checks do not operate then populations end with malnutrition over wide areas, and the accompanying diseases and other agents of decimation take their toll until outright famine restores the balanced relationship between the population and the resources on which it lives.

The Malthusian doctrine, as the author points out on page 23, has not been entirely substantiated in the period following its publication—but we would have thought that this is in fact too short a yard-stick in time, and that in general terms it is more right than wrong for, after all, where it has not been fulfilled is where man has been able to stave off, probably temporarily, the operation of the conditions which Malthus foresaw. Thus, the United Kingdom now bears three times the population which Malthus considered possible. But this has only been possible at the expense of other countries which send food to Britain in return for its manufactured goods. However, as the food producing countries come to manufacture for themselves and become faced with ever increasing populations of their own, and as less and less of British goods come to be required in international trade, England at least may become over-populated; and if that happens a lowered standard of living becomes inevitable.

The author puts the question—"How are the new mouths [in the under-developed countries, which are the main source of the world population increase] to be fed and the new bodies to be clothed adequately, in order to keep the Malthusian famine from coming forth to stalk the countrysides?"

R. S. Thoman is strongly justified in opposing the views of the later schools of optimists—who take the opposite view to that of the geographical determinists—for instance, that the tropics are not detrimental to "zestful living." But, as the author points out (p. 47, footnote), "human beings, including professionally trained minds, are faddish. Once we thought nature all-powerful. Now, it seems at least to this author, we ascribe too much to man's potential to overcome nature. We cannot escape some measure of environmentalism. . . . Perhaps the tropics can be made very livable; but will this not involve tremendous capital outlay in air conditioning and moisture control—much more than now is allocated to summer cooling and winter heating in the middle latitudes? Perhaps we *can* grow crops beyond the latitudinal limits nature seems to have established, but at what price? Nature may not *determine* our living or way of life; but, make no mistake about it, she is there to be coped with."

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